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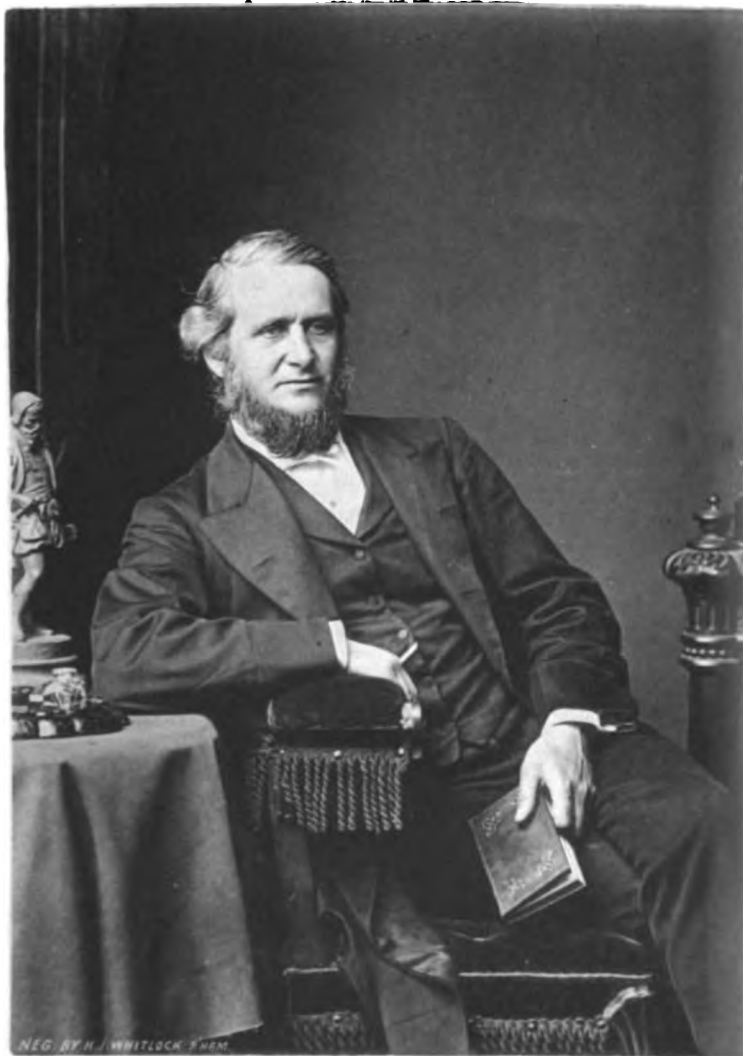
To E. W. C.  
from J. H.  
Dec 19 '97

**HENRY WILLIAM CROSSKEY**

**LL.D. F.G.S.**







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**HENRY WILLIAM CROSSKEY**

LL.D. F.G.S.

**His Life and Work**

BY

RICHARD ACLAND ARMSTRONG, B.A.

WITH CHAPTERS BY

THE REV. E. F. M. MACCARTHY, M.A.

AND

CHARLES LAPWORTH, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S.

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<sup>57</sup>  
**Birmingham**  
CORNISH BROTHERS, NEW STREET.

1895





PRINTED BY E. C. OSBORNE AND SON,  
84, NEW STREET, BIRMINGHAM.

## PREFACE.

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MY qualifications for sketching the character and career of Dr. Crosskey are, I fear, somewhat defective. It is true that I have known few men whom I have more ardently admired or whose principles have more strongly commended themselves to my judgment and my conscience. But, living as we did at a distance from each other, my personal intercourse with him was limited.

Having, however, been honoured with the request that I would become his biographer, I gratefully accepted the task and have derived from it great delight. I have been in daily communion with one of the noblest minds and purest hearts of our times. Dr. Crosskey's inmost thoughts have been opened to me. I have felt the glow of his enthusiasm, the inspiration of his example. It may or may not be that this little book will interest others: I, at any rate, have derived from its preparation a pure and elevated pleasure.

I have necessarily drawn from documents the greater part of the information embodied in the book. Letters and printed matter have been placed at my disposal in abundance. I might have doubled the bulk of the volume by yet more copious citations from these. But my great desire has been to reproduce the impression of the living man, and I was unwilling to overload the sketch with too many speeches or too much detail of any kind. For the same reason, I have abstained from dwelling on the

funeral services or the innumerable tributes of respect that flowed in from public bodies, when it was known that the eloquence of the Minister of the Church of the Messiah was for ever silenced.

I have to thank a great many of Dr. Crosskey's friends for sending me letters of his or reminiscences of their intercourse with him. If some of these friends miss any reference to these documents in the following pages, they must not therefore think that their kindness was thrown away. Every such contribution has helped me to realise more completely some element in the complex personality or the multifarious industry of Dr. Crosskey.

To the Rev. E. F. M. MacCarthy and Dr. Lapworth my gratitude is due for generously contributing chapters which I could not possibly have written. Personally I have to thank my friend, the Rev. V. D. Davis, for undertaking to see this volume through the press while I am sailing over southern seas.

R. A. A.

SS. "Tabor,"  
Off Cape St. Vincent,  
Feb. 5, 1895.

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I cannot let this book go forth without acknowledging my indebtedness to my kind friend the Revd. J. C Street for his helpfulness in the management of many details in connection with the publication. He has tendered me constant and valuable assistance whenever his wise counsel and ripe judgment have been needed.

H. C.

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ERRATUM.—On p. 27, line 14, for Charles read Robert.



## CHAPTER I.

### EARLY LIFE.

THERE lie before me two manuscript volumes, labelled "Personal Memoranda" and dated Christmas, 1892, in which Dr. Crosskey jotted down a series of autobiographical notes. There can be no better general introduction to a study of his life than the paragraphs which stand as a "prefatory note" at the beginning of these volumes. He writes:—

"I take advantage of the enforced leisure placed at my disposal by the long continued illness which has interfered with my work from Christmas, 1891, to this Christmas, 1892, to collect together such memorial records as I have of my career. I find that I have very imperfectly preserved them. Indeed, I have been far too busily and eagerly intent upon what I have set myself to do, to have been able to give time and trouble to the writing of diaries and the drawing up of personal narratives.

"Since, however, I am now compelled to rest (I trust only for a passing season) from active exertions of any strenuous kind, in my comparative idleness

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I address myself to the task of compiling such an account of my life-history as the materials in my possession and memory will permit.

"I do not attempt this task because I think there is anything at all remarkable in my career, for there is not; I am possessed of no exceptional powers and have simply, like thousands of others, tried to do a fair day's work under the sun; but for the sake of my children, who will no doubt like to have a record of the chief incidents in their father's life, and the purposes which he aimed at accomplishing by his labours in connection with public affairs."

Dr. Crosskey presently proceeds to a systematic analysis and statement of these life-purposes. A comparison of this analysis and statement with the actual facts and achievements of his career, as related in the following pages, will enable the reader to judge both of his fidelity to his ideals and of his success in their realisation. He says:—

"When I look back upon my life from as impartial a standpoint as I can manage to gain, when self is examining self, and I ask myself with as keen and searching a directness as I can, 'What have you been doing all these years that have been yours?' I am struck by the fact that from my earliest entrance into public life, until now, (i.e., the Autumn of 1848, until October, 1892), I have worked for the *same* definite and clear ends and aims, with per-

sistent, strenuous, and unflagging determination—or, as it may be called, ‘unyielding obstinacy of temper.’

*“What have these ends and aims been?”*

They can easily be described.

I.—“The maintenance and promotion of absolute freedom of thought on all conceivable questions, whether purely intellectual, moral, social, or religious.

*“Negatively,* this has meant intense and uncompromising opposition to the notion that wrong opinions of any kind whatsoever, are crimes; and I have striven to think neither worse nor better of any man’s character, because of any agreements or differences, with respect to the convictions I have personally formed.

*“Positively,* it has meant frank speech on my own part, without the slightest attention being paid to the labelling of *my* utterances by others as either ‘heterodox’ or ‘orthodox’; and the honouring and welcoming of equally frank speech on the part of others.

II.—“The up-building of a ‘Church’ with the following characteristics:

(1.) “The Union of intellectual freedom, with reverence for the awful Power of Powers, from whom our being came, and who is supreme in Wisdom, Righteousness, and Love.

“Hence I have never signed any theological creed, or entered into any undertaking to teach certain



doctrines and not others, although claiming perfect liberty to express my own convictions, which are best described as they now stand, by the name 'Unitarian.'

"Hence also, I have insisted that the profession of a creed should never be required for membership of a Church, and that the bond of fellowship should be one of sympathy and not of dogma.

(2.) "The predominance in its services of aspirations towards a Divine Life, and the insistence upon obedience to the laws of God as the condition for obtaining the blessedness of His love.

(3.) "The employment of its organization, as an instrument for doing good, apart from any consideration of Sect or Party; so that it may become a centre of beneficent activities on behalf of the poor, and the ignorant, and the desolate, as well as of the sinful.

III.—"The securing for the children of the poorest of the poor, as well as of the rich, the best possible education, by means of a National System, which shall be free, compulsory, and secular, leaving to religious bodies the provision for religious instruction, and be administered by Local Boards duly elected for the purpose.

"When I began public life, it was regarded as the very wildest of dreamy enthusiasms to imagine the establishment of such a system in England; but I have seen step by step taken towards its accomplish-

ment; and although the old ecclesiastical supremacy over the education of the people has not yet been entirely overthrown, its strongest limbs have been dislocated, and its end is approaching.

IV.—“I have always held that in becoming a minister of Religion, I did not cease to be a citizen; and have, hence, taken part in the chief political agitations of my day. My “Politics” have meant for me Methods of just Government, or in other words, the Method of Government which will best promote the establishment of a Kingdom of God upon earth.

“The particular lines of my activities have, of course, been determined by the questions of the hour as they have arisen, but speaking generally, I may describe the end and aim of my political work as having been the promotion of whatever I believed tended towards the full development of individual men, and, by consequence, the development of a righteous civilization.

“Hence, (1.) I have striven to extend the range of *representative* institutions,—since (a) freedom of action is a condition of spiritual growth, and (b) self-government is in itself a noble education.

(2.) “I have recognized the fact that in order to enable the poor to enjoy the privileges of a cultured and civilized life, which are their fair and just inheritance as human beings, limits must be put to individualism, and I therefore claimed for the

community the right to carry on those affairs, which can be best managed by the community, in the interests of the great mass of its people.

(3.) "I have opposed the interference of the State with Religion, as harmful to the life of the soul, undermining the independence of mental judgments respecting the truth or falsehood of established articles of faith, and checking the progress of thought.

"To sum up—I have been more than content to serve as a private in the ranks, with those who have been engaged in maintaining and promoting absolute freedom of thought; up-building a Church at once intellectually free, worshipful, and beneficent in its activities; establishing a national system of education; and extending and managing representative institutions in such a way as to bring the choicest blessings of life within fair reach of each and all of the children of God, gathered together in our villages and towns.

"On some subjects for a man to confess that the convictions of his mature years are those of his youth only shows an obstinate self-opinionativeness, and either an unwillingness or inability to learn; and on many, very many matters, I trust that study and experience have corrected and enlarged my thoughts.

"But there are, I believe, great principles, underlying the 'ends and aims' I have described as those of my life, which have power to commend themselves

to a young man, and awaken his warmest enthusiasm; and which it is no shame to confess, have become, as his years have passed, master passions whose dictates he could not choose but obey, and although only holding the lowly position, which among the men of mark and might in the world, I know has been mine—viz., the position of a ‘hewer of wood and drawer of water’—could do no other than serve with all his strength.

“The statement of guiding ‘ends and aims’ now made, will I think, show the essential UNITY of what might, at first sight, appear a record of somewhat miscellaneous work. In truth, every single principle and purpose to which I have clung, and for which I have toiled, has an indissoluble and intimate connection with every other one.

“The bond uniting them all has been my conviction that the substance of Religion is contained in the two great commandments, ‘Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength,’ and ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.’

“I have tried to realize what this conception of Religion involves, when it is really believed in, as we believe in fire, that it will burn. For the mind to serve God—it must, I have concluded, be free to seek His truth; and I could not therefore be a minister in a creed-bound Church.

“Deep in the heart of a Love for the Supreme Lord of all, there must be reverence for His infinite Wisdom and Righteousness, and a desire to obey His Laws; or this so-called Love would be only a worthless sentimentality. True worship therefore cannot have for its essence the profession of belief in any series of theological articles of faith, whether true or false; but must primarily involve the bowing down in lowly awe, before the throne of our Creator, and the seeking to know and do whatsoever He may command. At the same time the Father of all men cannot be pleased by any prayers addressed to Himself, if the great family of His children are carelessly left to perish in misery and sin, or are forgotten in selfishly ecstatic glorifications of His Majesty; and a congregation of His worshippers must be a band of men and women who never weary in well doing, as well as engage in those offices of prayer and praise, which go by the name of ‘Divine Service.’ If we really love our neighbours as ourselves, according to the great commandment, their children must not be doomed to ignorance either by our neglect, or by our sectarianism, or by our unwillingness to pay a School Board rate. National Education is, in truth, demanded by the brotherhood of man.

“And yet again, if we actually regard all the people of our country as BRETHREN, there must be no exclusive class-legislation; society must be so

organized as to secure the widest possible diffusion of the blessings which render life worth having; and no special privileges must be attached to one form of faith rather than another.

"I can truly say that the first principles of my Religion have been the links that have bound together the various public duties I have undertaken; and that such energies as I have possessed, have not been expended upon *isolated* objects, scattered here and there at random, over the field of the world.

"Being possessed of no exceptional 'gifts' of mind whatever; being painfully, and, I humbly trust, penitently conscious of many sad deficiencies in character; and, at the same time, having been connected with a small religious denomination, whose ministers and affairs are almost entirely unknown in the world at large, it would be the height of absurdity to make any boast concerning the worth or the results of my life-long labours, although I must gratefully acknowledge that they have brought me many most kind and most generous friends. All that I can say for myself is that I have striven to be useful, and to help the more influential and the more richly-endowed, and the better men, whose 'ends and aims' have been in harmony with those that have approved themselves to my judgment and my conscience."

Henry William Crosskey was born at Lewes, the county town of Sussex, on December the 7th, 1826. We must imagine him, then, in early boyhood, now tramping over the undulating downs of the chalk country towards Ditchling Beacon, now watching the small craft on the Ouse making sail for Newhaven, seven miles south, the port by which the ancient borough disposed of its grain or its South-down sheep. His father, William Crosskey, belonged to a family of Sussex yeomen, who, as he tells us, had for many generations tilled farms just large enough to yield them an honest livelihood without affording the slightest opportunity for acquiring wealth, and were characterised by "a sturdy independence and painstaking and laborious industry."

"The only family tradition," he writes, "of which I have ever heard was this:—My grandfather on my father's side was on one occasion insulted by the squire of his parish—in what way insulted, tradition did not say; and in retaliation he threw this squire of his parish into a horse pond.

"My father's partner, Mr. H. Browne, was a highly-cultivated scientific man; he had a private chemical laboratory, and also a private printing press. He was one of the chief supporters of the Mechanics' Institute of the town and gave regular courses of lectures on chemistry to its members, at a time when scientific courses of lectures to the people were very seldom delivered, and indeed

when few believed that the people generally ought to be scientifically educated at all.

“My father associated also with several young men notable for their intellectual activity, and joined a small ‘Literary Society’ which they formed. Among these were Mr. Godlee (father of Mr. Godlee, Solicitor, Birmingham, 1892,) and Mr. H. Acton, who subsequently became an eminent Unitarian minister at Exeter, and whose son (with whom I was at College) has had a distinguished career on the staff of the *Manchester Guardian*.

“As a child I felt that no man was more respected in the town than was my father. My mother was fond of repeating a saying of mine which showed this, but of which I have no personal recollection. A large number of cattle were being driven through the streets, when my brother Robert and I were just starting for a walk. My brother was afraid to venture out among them, but I insisted upon going, saying, ‘they will never hurt Browne and Crosskey.’

“My father was a very modest, shy, and quiet man, shrinking from all show and ostentation, but most resolute in adherence to his political and religious principles.

“In politics, he was a firm Liberal, and took an active part in the political affairs of Lewes. In religion, he was a Unitarian, and most regular in attendance at the small chapel which had been



founded by the minister of St. Ann's parish church, on his ejection after the passing of the Act of Uniformity.

"Although so thoroughly independent, he was one of the gentlest and most unobtrusive of men. I never saw him angry, or heard him utter an ill-tempered word. Whatever he disapproved of, he tried to rectify quietly, and if he could not manage to do this—relapsed into silence.

"His great delight was in his garden, and he cultivated flowers and fruits with an affectionate skill which secured success. It was the crown of his delight to send to his friends baskets of the products of his garden at their earliest seasons; and he always gave away the *best* he had.

"In his time, Lewes was not a municipality, and the chief officer of the town was called a 'Head Borough,' and my father had a term of office in this capacity.

"He retired from business some years before his death, and with my mother thoroughly enjoyed the beauty of 'Castle-gate House,' to which he removed, and where he spent his later years.

"On my father's funeral, all the shops in the town put up their shutters in respect for his memory. He was buried in the grave-yard connected with the Unitarian Chapel at Ditchling, a village about eight miles from Lewes.

"My father married the sister of his partner Mr. Browne, but she died within a year of the

marriage, and left no child. He subsequently married my mother, who came from Horsham, and whose maiden name was Elizabeth Rowland.

"Of my mother it is impossible for me to speak in words of sufficient tenderness. She was one of the gentlest, purest, and most loving of mothers, and to her influence I owe all the best feelings of my heart.

"She guided her household—a large one connected with the place of business (at 214, High Street)—without strain and without scolding, and with clear sound judgment and firm will.

"She dearly loved every beauty of nature. When the merest child, I well remember how she lifted me up to the window to see the rose colour, which at sunset sometimes suffuses the South Downs; and took me to the fields to hear the nightingale.

"She was also a lover of books; and was especially charmed by the works of Scott. The earliest picture of her my mind holds brings her before me, when the bustle of her morning's work was over, and our early dinner despatched, sitting by the table on which her work-box rested, deeply immersed in a volume of Scott.

"By nature she was deeply religious, and her piety was as unaffected and humble, as it was peaceful, and trustful, and cheerful.

"I could not choose but love her favourite hymns and chapters of the Bible, as she read them to me, neither could I help seeing and feeling that she

exalted above all other concerns of life, the fear of God and the keeping of His commandments, although she talked very little on religious subjects, and did not attempt to force them on a child's immature attention.

"There is no doubt that the early conviction of the supreme importance of Religion, which I gained from the general tenour of my mother's whole life, and not from any elaborate 'talkings to' about it, or set-lessons, or repetitions of creed, ultimately brought about my determination to become a Minister.

"The desire to devote myself to religious work quite naturally sprang up, when I saw that my mother—and evidently my father also—paid more reverent respect to Religion than to anything else in the world.

"This reverent respect was shown in extremely quiet and silent ways;—it was a secret awe revealed by a hushed tone—a shrinking from anything irreverent—the absence of familiar discussions on Divine sanctities—unfailing regularity of attendance on public worship—lively interest in any movements for the advance of the Unitarian faith in which they believed. I do not think, however, that any more obtrusive manifestations of faith could have made an equally profound impression upon me."

Henry William was the eldest of a family of five. He had three brothers, Robert, Rowland, and Walter, still practising as a medical man in the old family town, and one sister, Maria Elizabeth. Robert Crosskey spent all his life at Lewes. In 1859 he became sole representative of the firm of Browne and Crosskey, but he retired while still comparatively young, and devoted himself thenceforth to philanthropic labours. In 1873 and again in 1875, he was Senior High Constable of his native town. A few weeks before his death, which occurred in 1884, a neighbouring magnate declared that there was "no one in Lewes to compare with Crosskey; he is a head and shoulders taller than all the rest."

Rowland Crosskey was apprenticed to a firm of ironmongers at Lichfield, whence he emigrated to Australia. Returning home, he started in business in Birmingham—where his brother's name was later on to become so distinguished. Subsequently he took over the Lichfield business to which he had served his apprenticeship. In 1868 he was Mayor of the city, and for fourteen years he was warden of St. Mary's Church. He died in 1890.

In the manuscript notes already referred to, Dr. Crosskey gives the following account of his school and college days:—

"After an Infant's School, I was sent to a small school kept by the Lewes Unitarian Minister, the

Rev. C. P. Valentine, at first in the town, and subsequently at a farm he cultivated near Chailey, a village about four miles distant.

"At Chailey we boys (there were only three or four of us) had the run of the farm, and thoroughly enjoyed all the incidents of a farmer's year; the sowing, mowing, reaping, harvesting, hop-picking, and the care of the cattle. There was a stream also in which we could fish, and we were dead upon bird's eggs. I well remember the triumph of discovering a nightingale's nest with an egg, which was however religiously left untouched.

"Mr. Valentine was a very kindly and gentle man, with considerable culture; any knowledge I may have acquired when under his charge has not held its own in my memory, in comparison with the delight I had in the country life; that delight indeed has proved a happy possession for all my years.

"After being with Mr. Valentine, I was placed as a weekly boarder at the school of Mr. W. Button, Cliff, Lewes. The education given was on the lines of the old-fashioned DRILL.

"The Eton Latin Grammar had to be learnt from end to end; the rules of Arithmetic, and the books of Euclid were taught as lessons to be repeated by rote; so many words from a Spelling Book had also to be committed to memory daily.

"The wearisome monotony and drudgery of this

'method' of education was relieved in several directions.

(1.) "Mr. Button was a good elocutionist and read with us many great passages of poetry, while one of the great events of the school was a capital performance by him of the part of Falstaff, in which he appeared stuffed out into due rotundity, to our intense delight.

(2.) "In the School Library I found 'The Arabian Nights;' this book proved so absorbing to the school at large, and many boys found it so impossible to avoid peeping at its pages under the half-lifted lids of their desks, when they were supposed to be working sums, that at last it was removed, but not before I knew every tale quite as well as I knew my Euclid, in which I also took great pleasure. Indeed, the two things I really enjoyed were Euclid and The Arabian Nights—a combination which may at first sight appear strange, but it gives a key to the mental characteristics which have manifested themselves in many directions throughout my life.

(3.) "We were taken regularly to the courses of scientific Lectures given at the Mechanics' Institute, and which were largely experimental, and these proved such a refreshment from the drill of the school, that although they gave nothing at all approaching to a scientific education, they aroused a taste for science, which no doubt in future

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years, determined me to select a scientific study as a 'recreation' from ministerial work.

"Among the Lecturers, I heard the famous geologist, Dr. Gideon Mantell, who lived in Lewes before settling at Brighton; and I recall with some clearness the diagrams of the monsters of the Wealden, by which his lecture was illustrated, and the feelings of amazement and curiosity they awakened; and the search for 'sharks' teeth' and other fossils in the chalk of the South Downs became an amusement of many a holiday afternoon.

(4.) "Chess was one of the great school games in my time; and poignancy was given to it by the fact that one of the masters always lost his temper, and used rather violent language, whenever he was beaten. To beat *that* master became one of the supreme objects of my life. I remember how I and another boy, who slept in a neighbouring bed, aroused ourselves at five in the morning to practise the game, until at last, after having been beaten by the master over and over again, I gave him check-mate, and I vividly recollect how on that occasion his out-burst of temper was sufficiently violent to give me the very greatest of satisfaction and delight.

"My last school was at Chichester, where I was placed, with two or three other boys, in charge of the Rev. John Fullagar, the Unitarian Minister in that city.

"Mr. Fullagar was both a keen politician and a keen theologian, and had recourse to teaching only because of a reverse of fortune. To live with him was thus rather a mental stimulus than a *training*. He enjoyed good things both in books and in life, and his enjoyment of them was contagious. He dearly loved also an argument, and could drive well home, and not without some expenditure of heat, the arrows of his thoughts.

"He was not however a teacher; and I have often had reason to regret that at this time of life I did not enjoy the advantages given in a Grammar School.

"As the result, under Mr. Fullagar my scholarship did not improve, although it sorely lacked improvement; but I learnt for the first time to read a classical book with pleasure.

"Virgil and Lucretius became my two favourite authors; in spite of the unfortunate absence of accurate guidance in their study, under my master's influence, I enjoyed their books as books. I remember taking my Virgil with me in my pocket, to read during country walks, and delighting in his calm, dignified, and exquisitely polished and sonorous verse.

"As a further result, strength was given to my early desire to become a minister, and thus take part in those public affairs in which I saw Mr. Fullagar (whom I greatly respected) so keenly



interested, and promote the interests of the religion to which (in spite of the ostracism and neglect he had to endure in a Cathedral city), he was so sturdily and uncompromisingly attached, and which was also endeared to me as the religion of my father and mother, as well as approved by my own thoughts.

“My father left to me the choice of a business or profession. Personally, he had a desire that I should become a chemist; my Lewes schoolmaster (Mr. Button) urged me to go to the Bar; but my own preference for the Ministry was so strong that it prevailed so far as to cause the decision that I should go to college for a preliminary year, in order to test its strength, and gain experience of what it would involve.

“Accordingly, I entered Manchester New College, Manchester, as a lay-student, lay-students being associated there with Divinity students, at a very early age, viz., in my 17th year.

“The course of a Divinity student was five years. Spending the Session 1843 as a lay-student, I became a Divinity student ‘on the foundation’ in 1844, and remained until the close of the Session of 1847-8.

“Among the Professors were—F. W. Newman, B.A. (Greek, Latin and English), brother of Cardinal Newman; Rev J. Martineau (Mental and Moral Philosophy and Political Economy); Rev. John Kenrick, M.A. (History); Rev. J. J. Tayler, B.A.

(Ecclesiastical History); Rev. J. G. Robberds (Hebrew and Pastoral Theology); R. Findlay, B.A. (Mathematics).

"Newman left in 1845, and was succeeded in 1846 by Eddowes Bowman, M.A.; Rev. W. Gaskell (the husband of the authoress, Mrs. Gaskell) taking charge of English History, Literature, and Composition. This last appointment brought the students into frequent personal and friendly intercourse with Mrs. Gaskell, and I have charming memories of country walks with her, and frequent evenings in her company.

"The religious influence of Martineau was profound, and has been life-long upon all students in his classes, especially upon those entering the Ministry. The modern spiritual development of Unitarianism began with him, and has been promoted by his students.

"Mr. Robberds rendered a great service to the students by his passionate love of Shakespere. We met regularly at his house for Shakespere readings, and became as familiar with Shakespere as with the Bible, to our great advantage as 'Divinity' students then, and subsequently as preachers.

"The broad-minded and liberal spirit in which Mr. J. J. Tayler taught Ecclesiastical History was also most notable in the deliverance it brought from the somewhat narrow dogmatism of the old

fashioned textual type of Unitarianism. The spiritual meaning of many creeds was unfolded, and we were taught to look upon many diverse forms of faith as representing distinct human wants, and forwarding the growth of truth.

"The scholarship of Newman was as acute and refined and subtle, as large; and although my own powers (such as they were) were not linguistic, and my classical training at the schools to which I had been sent had been very inferior to Grammar School training, I could but gain largely from his methods of teaching; and his absolute accuracy of mind was in itself an education.

"Newman's religious history had a very considerable influence upon the M. N. C. students, when it became known by the publication of 'Phases of Faith,' and of 'The Soul.' Our knowledge of him as Professor brought those two remarkable books very closely home to us.

"Among my fellow-students, were several, who, entering college on the Divinity side, on leaving it entered upon notable positions on the press, viz:—Richard Holt Hutton, Editor of *The Spectator*; Frank H. Hill, late Editor of *The Daily News*; H. M. Acton, lately on the staff of *The Manchester Guardian*; Theophilus Davis (the ablest man, I think, amongst us) also became a press writer and tutor, but died in 1862.

"Among my fellow-students who became Unitarian Ministers were John Wright; R. L. Lloyd;

Charles Beard; T. L. Marshall, late Editor of *The Inquirer*; T. E. Poynting (father of Professor Poynting) who entered college after he was married, having been previously a schoolmaster.

"One fellow-student became an 'Independent' Minister and Professor, and at college was an Independent, viz., Robert Halley (son of Dr. Halley) who became Professor of Mathematics and Logic, Lancashire Independent College, and Principal, Protestant College, Madras.

"Among my lay fellow-students were R. D. Darbshire, Solicitor, Manchester; J. H. Tayler, Barrister, who died 1854; Alex. Brogden (late M.P. for Wednesbury), Railway Contractor."

Mr. Alfred W. Worthington, one of Crosskey's old fellow-students, thus recalls him in his college days:—

"The spirited and enthusiastic character which distinguished Crosskey in later years, was his characteristic in the class-room and college waiting room. He was, so far as I remember, a good all-round student, giving fair attention, I believe, to all his work, and *not*—as some did, concentrating his efforts on one or two favourite courses: though I should say that Dr. Martineau's would be most attractive to him. He did not take any degree.

"I have an impression that he once spent an evening at Mr. Gaskell's with Carlyle, and after some conversation with him, Carlyle said, 'the lad has *ideas*.'"

Mrs. Sadler, the widow of the late Rev. Thomas Sadler, Ph.D., of Hampstead, writes to me of Mr. Crosskey in the days immediately preceding college :

"He was scarcely more than a boy when I first saw him, but he was as earnest then in desiring to be a Minister, as he was afterwards in preparing to be one, or later in fulfilling the duties of the office he loved. Some of his young companions were rather in awe of him, because he seemed from his thoughts and conversation more like a grave man than a light-hearted youth; but perhaps they enjoyed all the more his occasional flashes of fun and hearty bursts of laughter."

Mrs. Sadler adds :

"I saw most of Dr. Crosskey in the vacations during his student life, and used to think him a delightful companion on a long country ramble, for his eye was open to every interesting thing in nature. He had too, a habit of carrying in his pocket a small volume of Shakespere or some other poet, and would read aloud to a little company of friends, when they sat down to rest here and there."

Crosskey's favourite studies in college classes were mathematics and philosophy, while his private reading during college days was chiefly concerned with the period of the Commonwealth, and Milton's prose works, with their noble diction and their passionate pleas for human freedom, exercised an

influence on his mind and character, which he enthusiastically acknowledged in later life. Wordsworth and Shelley were his best-loved poets. At college he received no teaching in physical science except one year's course in chemistry, a defect of training which he evidently regretted.

He attended on Sundays the ministry of the Rev. John James Tayler at Upper Brook Street, where he probably heard and was doubtless influenced by many of the simple and beautiful discourses afterwards published under the title "Christian Aspects of Faith and Duty." He taught in the Lower Mosley Street Sunday School, under the superintendency of Mr. Curtis, and he subsequently looked back on this experience as "an admirable ministerial training." During his student days he saw and heard Theodore Parker and Ralph Waldo Emerson, and met Dalton the chemist. Hence dates also his life-long friendship with George Dawson. Nor was he without intellectual recreations. He saw Dickens and his company in "Twelfth Night" and "Every Man in his Humour." He saw Macready, Vandenhoff (whom he pronounces "a great actor,") Mrs. Kemble and Miss Faucitt. He saw Taglioni dance, and he heard Sims Reeves sing on his first appearance.

The holidays were made memorable by rambles through Derbyshire and Wales, and by one long tramp from Ilkley to Lancaster. But, as he

recorded after a lapse of forty years, "going home to Lewes was the great, triumphant and enjoyable holiday of the year; no one ever went home with more gladness of heart, or enjoyed home more."

During Crosskey's college days the Anti-Corn Law agitation was in full force. It attracted his lively and sympathetic interest, and those who remember his ardent patriotism and passionate liberalism in later days, will well conceive with what enthusiasm he enrolled himself a member of the League. Nor would it be easy to measure to what degree his own noble eloquence on the political platforms of a more recent time drew its inspiration from the frequency with which in his youth, at the Free Trade Hall, he heard the speeches of Cobden, Bright and W. J. Fox, in the plenitude of their power.

. Life in Manchester, he tells us, was at this period full of a sympathy for the great masses of the people, which was especially calculated to win students of his temperament. He heard from eye-witnesses, stirred with indignation, the sombre story of Peterloo. His Sunday School visitations brought him face to face with the sufferings of the poor in those stern times. He saw troops bivouacked in the streets, and his heart beat in passionate sympathy with the people whom they kept down. The frequent revolutions of 1848 broke out during his last year at college and crowned the many

influences—those of temperament, of study, and of religious principle—which threw him on the side of the great masses of the people. And so he passed out from his academical training already pledged in conviction and in sympathy to that impassioned advocacy of popular liberty, emancipation, and progress, to which he was so loyal throughout his years.

During the last two years of his collegiate life, young Crosskey took vacation engagements in the pulpits of settled ministers, while they were making holiday. Through one series of Sundays he took duty at Trim Street Chapel, Bath, for the Rev. Charles Wallace. Through another series he preached for the Rev. Benjamin Carpenter, at the High Pavement Chapel, Nottingham. His first sermon was preached at the Cairo Street Chapel, Warrington, of which Philip Carpenter was then minister. His text was "Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."



## CHAPTER II

### MINISTER AT DERBY.

**O**N leaving college, young Crosskey, now in his twenty-second year, took charge of the small congregation meeting in the Friar-gate Chapel, Derby.

There lies before me a coloured daguerrotype of the young minister at this early period of his career, in black dress-coat, large black tie, and old-fashioned turn-up collar. The high and well-shaped forehead is surmounted by abundant straight black hair nearly covering the ears. The eyes are deep set and earnest, the nose is long and straight, the lips are mobile, the chin and jaw large and indicative of resolve and purpose. The face is bare of beard or whisker, the features are handsome, the expression is grave, but very winning. It is the portrait of a young man whom one would look at twice and who clearly would count for something in the world, and something very good. Such a young man would have opinions of his own and principles as well, and his neighbours would not be likely to be

left in ignorance what those opinions and principles might be. Yet withal, the predominant impression is of sweetness and piety of disposition.

The stipend offered was seventy pounds a year. What was the attraction that drew a young man of distinguished talent, already eager to make a home for his betrothed, to accept a position to which was attached so slender a pecuniary acknowledgment?

The attraction was—as he wrote forty-five years afterwards—that those who formed the congregation were eager for more active work and impressed on him the belief, that they would earnestly support any efforts which his youthful energy might lead him to make. They reported, too, that outside their own sparse ranks there were in Derby considerable numbers, especially among working-men, who would be found to be in sympathy with “liberal” principles, both in religion and in politics. He found these statements fully justified by the experiences of his four years’ ministry. That ministry began in the late autumn of 1848 and ended in the autumn of 1852. It was full of eager activity, congregational and public, and in its labours, religious, theological, educational and political, presents a model in miniature of the larger and more far-reaching activities of his more mature career, except that he laid less stress on the specific Unitarian controversy than his environment led him to lay on it in his later ministry.

The general character of the youthful preacher's religious aims may best be presented in the language of his own letter to his people, addressed to them when he brought his ministry among them to a close. On that occasion he wrote:—

“When I accepted the office of your Minister, I declined to pledge myself to any creed. I came among you a free man to speak free thoughts. I could not tell whither my mind would lead me, I could only resolve to follow the light vouchsafed me and to be true to that. As to whether I have been faithful to that light or not, I appeal not now to your judgments to determine—that rests between my own conscience and my God; but I write briefly to enumerate the principles I have endeavoured to preach, that they may be clearly seen, and being clearly seen may be fairly judged. I would sum them up as follows:—

I.—“As regards the nature of religion itself; religion is (to my mind) neither performance of a ceremony, nor belief in a dogma or a history, but a personal experience of the inward spirit. It consists in that living contact with the living God rendered possible by the existence of the soul and the creation of man in the image of his God. Creeds, confessions, and all external helps and guidances whatever, are only valuable so far as they are adapted to awaken and sustain the desire for such communion. This I believe the religion of the

Saviour, who said, 'Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him, shall be IN HIM—a well of water springing up into everlasting life.' And, 'God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him, must worship Him *in Spirit* and in truth.'

II.—“I have, moreover, endeavoured to teach that no man can be religious without leading a religious life. The religious life consists in the full harmony of God and man, and will be perfect when no discord exists between human desire and divine law—it will be made manifest by the progressive development of the human race throughout time, and the human being throughout eternity. Thus, both the individual man and society, under the influence of religion, are capable of growing to perfection. Believing in human brotherhood, I have ever claimed full and fair opportunity for the poorest and lowliest, thus to develop the natures God has given them to the utmost point of physical, intellectual, moral and religious perfection.

III.—“As regards church union, I have maintained that the unity of men united in a church by religious sympathy, consists in community of life and aspiration; and that all who worship the infinitely perfect One and who aspire to be as noble and pure and holy as humanity *can* be—can and should meet as brethren in one temple, notwithstanding theological differences. While religious

union is incompatible with the existence of sin, I have held it quite compatible with the widest divergence in theological opinion—belief in a particular creed being no test of moral worth or religious devotion. The theologies of the sects are only so many theories formed by the logical intellect, touching that Being of whose existence the soul renders man conscious, and bear therefore the same relationship to religion that mental philosophy bears to friendship. With reference to character, integrity and heroism may co-exist with any theological theory—with reference to truth, some portions of all theologies must be wrong since man has not reached the bounds of all knowledge, and some portions must be right since no man ever held an utter and absolute falsehood as a religious faith—and with reference to religion, there may be the same religious emotions under various theologies, as among advocates of various theories touching the nature of light, there may be clear sight of the very same objects.

“In accordance with these principles, I have urged, that the church fit to live to-day, must proclaim that *not* mere belief in histories or explanations of theological points, however correct such histories or explanations may be, but living contact with the living God, constitutes religion;—it must labour to remove intellectual errors by the absence of one-sided culture, and struggle first and foremost

with moral guilt, regarding one immorality as worse than a hundred heresies—it must admit that men may agree in religious experience, while they differ in theologic argument, and know the same God, and yet give different explanations of His mysterious Being—and must therefore call on all who aspire towards the Perfectly Good, and would harmonize their lives with the divine will, to kneel together in holy worship, the common children of a common Father.”

As a preacher, Mr. Crosskey already gave indications of the power which was to distinguish his public utterances in later years. There was indeed a boyish exuberance of rhetoric which in later years gave place to a more stately, yet not less forcible eloquence. But the old as well as the young were moved by the moral and religious earnestness behind the somewhat flowery language; and the faults were the faults that will be found in the earlier efforts of almost all great preachers. It is easier as the years move on to prune a too luxuriant imagery than to kindle into flame a dull and heavy style of speech.

It is characteristic of the man that the first sermon he ever published was a passionate defence of religious liberty, and of religious liberty, too, wounded in the house of its friends. On the 4th of November, 1850, Lord John Russell, Her Majesty's Prime Minister, published his famous

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letter to the Bishop of Durham on the "Papal Aggression." A papal bull had cut up England into Catholic dioceses and created Dr. Wiseman "Archbishop of Westminster." The half Whig, half Presbyterian proclivities of the Premier led him into the fatal error of a passionate denunciation of this "aggression" by a foreign potentate. The flames of bigotry were quickly kindled from one end of England to the other. Even Jews joined in the cry of the Protestants against the pretensions of Rome. A great reaction was to set in presently and the flame was to go out in smoke; but few were so prompt in uttering the words of true liberality and common sense as the young minister of Friargate Chapel. Less than three weeks after the appearance of Lord John Russell's vehement appeal, we find Mr. Crosskey rebuking the bigots and stating the primary principles of religious equality in a powerful sermon on "The Establishment of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy." From this discourse I extract a paragraph here and there to display at once the young preacher's grasp of liberal principle and his fervid method of address.

Selecting as his text the 38th and 39th verses of the fifth chapter of the Book of Acts, he opens with this apology for departure from the purely spiritual functions of the Christian pulpit:

"Better do I love to dwell on those fundamental truths, and deep feelings uniting all religious men

and lying beneath the various controversies that divide Christendom, than to enter the arena of controversy. But when great principles are endangered, silence becomes a sin.

"It is proposed to use the civil power against the establishment of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in England because of the truth of Protestant principles. It is needful to inquire carefully in so dangerous a thing as an appeal to force against a religious body, lest between Protestantism and persecution we establish a connection."

And presently he exclaims :

"Avoid force, shrink from employing the civil power against a religious body even as you shrink from infidelity and atheism. For my part I would rather be an atheist than believe in a God whose pleasure it was I should subject a man as conscientious as myself to the pains and penalties of human law—rather believe in no God than in one whose service would be cruelty and oppression !"

And further :

"I say deliberately, therefore, that to attempt to prevent by law a church from governing itself in its own way (when thereby, as I have shown, not one civil right is touched) is to justify universally the principle of persecution. Abandon the ground in one instance and we have no defence in any. Great principles cannot be tampered with. They must be accepted in their entirety or abandoned



altogether. Are we then to understand that Protestants admit, as a principle, the employment of force in stopping the progress of what they deem error?

“Between the great thought and the strong arm what connection is there? Between being able to send a man to prison and having a God-devoted heart? If there be that connection between the two, which there must be if it be right to use force in religious matters, we should go to the professors of the ‘art of self-defence’ for our purest ministers of the Gospel, and to the army for the men most fit to be our bishops.

“But there is no such connection between truth and force.

“The gentle Jesus hath taught us this; he appealed alone to hearts and consciences of men, and although he might have called innumerable companies of angels to his defence, meekly died upon the cross.

“Force weakens every church it is used to support. A noble sympathy there is in men which draws them to a persecuted cause and they immediately conclude there must be more truth in it than perhaps there is. Hence doubtless many men of great power of self-denial who heretofore have been wavering, will go over to the Catholics, if the strong arm of the law strike them: and honor will be due to their brave hearts for doing so!

"The moment it is conceded that identity of creed is necessary to church communion, one of the first principles of Rome has been admitted.

"The only way to avoid this is to hold that Christians should be bound by Love and not by Dogma and that in every church should be free thought; that the foundation of Christian union should be the desire to lead a Christ-like life and not belief in certain disputed points of theology; that there are grounds on which all may meet for worship far above dispute, those very grounds by which Channing and Wesley and Bunyan and Pascal and Loyola and Arnold and Jeremy Taylor join with Paul and the Apostles as Christians. In this church we avoid this tendency to popery and strive after the deepest Christian union by setting up no authoritative creed for our members to sign. Our sacrament is free for all whose consciences bid them receive it. Our appeal is to the universal religious sympathies of humanity; our endeavour to see the truths that underlie all errors and the points of union beneath apparent and even real differences; our anxiety to insult the religious faith of no man."

Young Crosskey, it will be seen, had already firmly grasped, and knew how to set forth with conspicuous lucidity that principle of an absolutely free religious communion theologically unpledged, of which in later life he was so eloquent an exponent and so faithful a friend.

In accordance with this same principle he set himself to organize his church for benevolent purposes. On Sunday evening, October 10, 1850, a meeting was held in Friar-gate Chapel to inaugurate the movement. The basis of the organization was stated in the three following paragraphs.

“1.—That next to earning an honest living, it is the *duty* of every man to labour as much as he can for the relief of the destitute, the instruction of the ignorant, and the redemption of the guilty; that a number of isolated efforts have not the effect of combined exertion; and that an association for philanthropic toil can best be organised within a church dedicate to him who went about doing good.

“2.—That an Association for benevolent purposes should be a brotherhood and open for the reception of every man, however poor or ignorant, since each can do something to benefit a fellow creature. That its members therefore as brethren should endeavour to be sincere, exchanging free and open thoughts for free and open thoughts; to discover all the good in one another; to put the kindest construction on each other's motives; to avoid gossip and scandal; and to adopt the golden rule of not speaking evil of any unless there be some other reason for it besides barely that it is true.

“3.—That since the noblest characters can be formed by those professing any one of the creeds that divide Christendom, and since there can be

union based on the highest affections of our nature—love to man, Christ, and God, irrespective of theological differences, no definite creed should be laid down for the adoption of those willing to join a society whose only object is to do good."

These striking paragraphs are followed by a distribution of work to be undertaken under three several heads:

"I.—*Education of Adults.*

Adult Classes.

Aiding the establishment of Libraries and Reading Rooms.

"II.—*Education of the Young.*

Sunday School Teaching and visiting parents of children.

Evening School.

"III.—*Ministry to the Poor.*

Tract and Book Distribution.

Visiting the Poor.

Collection of information concerning the state of the Poor."

It is clear that the young man did not shrink from cutting out plenty of work for himself and for others. He threw himself heartily into Sunday School work, and he was one of the first to deliver courses of Sunday evening lectures on subjects usually counted secular, treated from a religious point of view, a practice which, widely extended as it now is in Liberal churches, has probably been one

main agency in bringing religion to bear on the common life of the community, and in deleting the arbitrary and mischievous line so often drawn between the secular and the sacred.

But the young minister's functions as preacher and pastor, while faithfully and ardently discharged, were never suffered to withdraw him from the service of humanity in the political, social and educational fields.

He was no sooner settled at Derby than he threw himself enthusiastically into the cause of a free, compulsory and secular system of National Education,—a cause then almost friendless, now nearing its final triumph, and throughout its development indebted to few, if any, more deeply than to Henry William Crosskey. When he was already nearing the hour of death, he wrote, in recording these early efforts, "I believed then (1848), as I believe now (1893), that such a system is an absolute necessity for the development of a noble civilisation. I felt then, as I feel now, deeply and acutely that a gross injustice is inflicted, a bitter wrong consummated, when any child sent into this world has not full and fair opportunity for cultivating every faculty bestowed upon it by the Creator."

When Mr. W. J. Fox introduced his Education Bill into the House of Commons, Mr. Crosskey, who already seems to have won the ear of the town, addressed a large and enthusiastic meeting of

working-men in a lecture in which he spoke at considerable length and with great force in favour of the Bill. The following sentences may be taken as a sample at once of his argument and his eloquence. Calling on the working classes to discuss this matter for themselves, he said :—

“This Education Question was decided by God when He gave man the power of being educated. When He gave us minds, He decided we ought to use those minds. And there is not one purpose of existence for the working man and another for the rich man. It is asked how much knowledge would you give? Here again God has decided the question for us; He can not have given us nobler minds than he intended us to use, and therefore everyone ought to be educated as much as he can be.”

Mr. Crosskey had already been instrumental, with others, in promoting a petition to Parliament in the following terms :

“To the Honorable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

“The petition of certain inhabitants of the borough of Derby, in the county of Derbyshire, in public meeting assembled, humbly sheweth—

“That in the opinion of your petitioners the education of the people of this country is alarmingly deficient, both as regards quantity and quality, and

calls for the serious attention of the Legislature, with the view of providing an efficient remedy. That education ought to be national, supplying to the children of all classes the means of intellectual development and moral culture; but that religious liberty requires that any system supported out of the public purse should give only secular instruction. That in connexion with such a system stated periods could be set apart in which the different ministers of religion could assemble the children of all parents agreeable to such a course in their own school-rooms and places of worship for special religious instruction, and that in the opinion of your petitioners such a division of labour would tend alike to the spread of true religion and to the general welfare of society. We therefore earnestly request your honorable House to pass an act for the establishment of a national system of education to be supported by local rates, levied upon property, and managed by local committees especially elected by the ratepayers for that purpose.

“And your petitioners will ever pray.”

In another speech the young apostle of knowledge spoke with rare beauty of language on his favourite theme. He said :

“The change from an uneducated to an educated people will be as the change from chaos to a world of beauty. Matter once lay without form and void in chaotic confusion and the Spirit of God moved over

it, and there came forth all the glories of the ocean, the mountain, the valley, and the o'erarching sky. Even thus, when the chaotic mass of mind that now lies beneath us comes under the influence of education, beauties of soul will arise more lovely than aught material, grander than mountain or ocean; and with more fitting service will each man serve his God."

Writing to the local press in December, 1851, Mr. Crosskey said:

"Religious bodies have almost uniformly objected to giving knowledge unless permitted to colour it with the hue of their various theologies, and again and again has scientific truth been denounced as heresy. Philosophers attempting to account by natural laws for thunder and lightning were thought in pagan days profane to the last degree. In the 8th century, belief in the existence of the Antipodes was declared heretical and blasphemous; in the 17th, a good Christian might believe in the Antipodes, but not in the motion of the earth; and in the 19th, geology has had to pass through an ordeal of theologic suspicion. Such facts cannot but make one suspicious of sects as *educating* bodies."

Anxious to expose the inadequacy of the voluntary system, he went on:

"In the report of Rev. M. Mitchell, inspector of the North Midland District, (I., p. 311), there are



numerous cases given, of which the following may be taken as a specimen :—

“N.— The neighbourhood is wretchedly poor. Straining every exertion, the minister, with a salary of £150 a year, cannot, even with the school children’s pence, raise the schoolmaster’s salary—£40 per annum.

“G.—. Population about 4,000. We have literally nothing to carry on the work with, and I cannot get funds here for the purpose.

“B.—. Population 632. One non-resident proprietor draws £3,000 per annum from the parish, and subscribes £10 per annum; another draws £1,500 and gives nothing.

“M.—. Population 3,000. \* \* I called five times upon almost the richest person in my district before I could succeed in obtaining the small sum of 2s. 6d. as a half-yearly subscription to the school and congregational expenses.”

On the 12th of March, 1852, we find Mr. Crosskey himself presiding at a crowded public meeting at which he declares that “there is no divine right to let evil influences flourish unchecked, and the liberty that pretends to allow this is but a false licence, and not true liberty.”

Mr. Crosskey found himself engaged in conflict, not with members of the Established Church alone, but with the Congregationalists as well, in whom he might reasonably have looked for zealous allies,

and he addressed this vigorous letter to the editor of *The Reporter and Chronicle*.

"Sir,—In your last week's paper, Mr. Corbin defends the Congregational Board of Education as an unsectarian body, and quotes several passages from its regulations and the speeches of its upholders to that effect. But, Sir, on turning to the published constitution of that body, I find an opening for the introduction of any and every amount of sectarianism. I quote from it the following:—

"(a.) *General Object.* To promote the extension of primary education, imbued with Evangelical truth.

"(b.) *Organisation.* The Board trains teachers belonging to the various Evangelical sections of the Church, and has no denominational teaching in its Training Institutions. It prescribes, that neither the learning of any denominational formulary, nor attendance at any particular place of worship, shall be a condition of admission into schools connected with the Board.

STIPULATING THAT THE RELIGIOUS TEACHING BE CONDUCTED ON EVANGELICAL VIEWS OF RELIGION, it leaves all arrangements as to the substance and manner of teaching with the entire internal government of the school, in the hands of the local committee. Now, Sir, who is to decide what "Evangelical views of religion" are? Evidently, in this

case, the Congregational Board of Education. That Board, therefore, can exclude any pupil or teacher, on the ground of his not being "Evangelical," and is left to itself to define what is "Evangelical" and what not! There is no phrase more indefinite than the phrase "Evangelical views of religion." I claim to hold them for myself, and a Roman Catholic fellow Christian makes the same claim. Every Christian's conscientious opinions as to the contents of Scripture are to him *Evangelical* truth. The boasted unsectarian character of the Congregational Board of Education, therefore, resolves itself into receiving as "unsectarian," whatsoever definition of Evangelical truth that Board may adopt! The National Public School Association proposes to furnish schools for Catholics, Church of England Communicants, Wesleyans, and members of every sect, at the same time giving each party fair and equal opportunity for the spread of their conscientious religious opinions. The Congregational Board of Education proposes to provide schools for such parties as it may deem possessed of Evangelical views. As to which plan is the more unsectarian and consistent with liberty of conscience, appeal is made unhesitatingly to the decision of the people of England.

"Respectfully yours,

"HENRY W. CROSSKEY."

In further correspondence with the same paper he presents this apt illustration of his argument :

“Suppose a carpenter engaged to perform a piece of work should insist on reading his Bible when he ought to be sawing wood, and denounce any objection to such a plan on the ground that it was a compulsory divorce of religion from the business of common life; his position would be exactly similar to that of the objectors to the plan of teaching theology at one time, and history and arithmetic, etc., at another.”

Mr. Crosskey attended a great Conference in Manchester, called at the instigation of Cobden, in connection with the establishment of the National Public School Association, and spoke at the evening meeting. Forty years afterwards he vividly recalled the cordiality of Cobden when he was presented to him and declared that the pressure of his hand still lingered on his own. He took part also in the agitation for the reform of the Grammar Schools of the country, which arose in consequence of the exposure of certain abuses contained in a pamphlet, by the Rev. R. Whiston, on Cathedral Trusts, a pamphlet which subjected its author to violent persecution.

At this time the newly-established Mechanics' Institutions were everywhere struggling with the difficulties incident to so novel a movement. They had not as yet succeeded in reaching the class for

whom they were specially designed, though largely used by the middle classes. He threw himself into the support of the movement, but failed to induce the artisans in any number to join the local Institution. Nothing daunted, he founded in the heart of an artisan district of the town a "Working Men's Institute," not in opposition to the more ambitious society, but rather as its feeder. This proved a great success, and became a real centre of culture. When he read some of Shakespere's plays to the members, many of whom had never read or heard them before, he records that "to watch their effect on them was a 'sensation.'"

When he left Derby the members of this Institute presented him with an address of deep and affectionate gratitude. The young Unitarian minister, on rising to reply, was "hailed with every demonstration of respect and esteem." In the course of his speech he said :

"The greatest contrast that exists in society is not that between wealth and poverty, but between the opportunities for gaining knowledge that exist in class and class. Walk through our courts and streets, and behold thousands of little children, gifted with infinite mental powers, powers this earth will never satisfy, but which still will crave light, more light—endowed with capacity for infinite love and infinite advance in noble living, yet doomed by a terrible destiny to dark ignorance. An iron

hand keeps them in the darkness, and from it no door of escape is opened. And what results? Sensuality is the child of ignorance. An ignorant people will be a sensual people; for the mind's death is the body's life. From ignorance proceeds that most dreary of all scepticisms—faithlessness in all that is good, and pure, and beautiful. On ignorance the most detestable tyrannies build their wicked thrones. It disturbs the social peace, sets man against master, master against man, and destroys healthy social intercourse. Who, with the heart of a man within him, will not labour to remove this fearful source of debauchery, tyranny and discord, and to save little children from the doom of its fearful darkness?" \* \* \*

"From political matters I have not kept aloof, because a first principle of my religion, love to man, is the first principle of my politics also. Political action should be the putting into practice of religious principles. Not being possessed of that strange courtesy which can be eloquent against dead tyrannies, but is silent touching living wrongs, I have mingled in the clamorous meeting, oft when the quiet study would have been most dear, that I might perchance speak one just word unto noisy faction." \* \* \*

"The sum and substance of such political effort as I have made, is a claim that the minds God has given men they should be permitted to cultivate—

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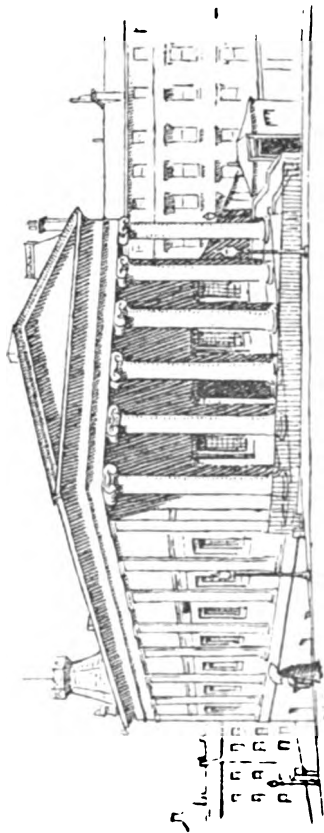
that no demoralizing public agencies should exist—but that in all respects all men should be able to grow wise, and holy, and great. Believing that the absolutism now triumphant in Europe and which would rule here, had it the chance, fosters the grossest immorality and hypocrisy, and can only be supported by the most detestable cruelty—by all my hatred of debauchery, hypocrisy, and cruelty have I denounced its every form. I know the cant accusation of being “revolutionist” and “disturber of social peace”—but there can be no lasting peace without justice, and those labouring for true and solid harmony must endure cant abuse. Their cause can bear it.”

Mr. Crosskey's splendid educational work led the working men to turn to him for help and guidance in their struggles for just conditions of labour. In the Derby Ribbon Weavers' strike he took a prominent part—a part the nature of which will be best illustrated by some extracts from the powerful speech which he made at a great public meeting called to make known their grievances and their demands. The newspaper report records this event as follows:

“The Rev. H. W. CROSSKEY, who was in the body of the hall, having been called on by the chairman, rose and said: It is with no desire to interfere with a private quarrel between employer and employed, or to foment the ill feelings of any







UNITARIAN CHURCH  
GLASGOW



— . . . .

class, that I respond to the chairman's call. But the prevalence of such differences as these before us, between masters and men, affects the very foundations of society, and those who embitter them, to whichever class they belong, cannot be justified. The true causes of revolutions are to be found in such contests as the present; and they are the true revolutionists, who, contrary to justice, arouse them. I stand here, therefore, as a conservative, wishing the happy, peaceful progress of the people, and no sudden overthrow of our civilization, and maintain that all lovers of order are interested in the rendering of justice to these working men. I stand here on behalf of masters and say that this is their best interest also. Does anyone say, let masters and men settle their own quarrels? I reply, it becomes a social question, when so large a body of men are not in harmony with their employers. Misunderstandings thence arise, causing masters to misjudge men and think them always unreasonable, and causing men to misjudge masters and think them always tyrants. And in the Church we feel these social animosities; and there, where all should be one, men refuse to associate together, and divisions in trade affairs thus create divisions among Christians. If then, notwithstanding these things, anyone bid me mind my calling, I say my calling is wherever right is trampled on. The present practice of society needs opposing. The

common idea seems to be that the master is to get as much out of his men as possible, and the men to do as little for the master as possible. We must feel, however, that society is for mutual aid ; that we do not come together to pick each other's pockets. The master is as much under obligation to his workmen as they are unto him. As far as obligation is concerned, there is an equality."

Passing on to speak of co-operation, he said :

"Study this principle of co-operation, and strive to realize it. Above all, be gentle. There is no power more potent than that of gentleness ; bless your enemies and you will overcome them ; pray for them that despitefully use you. Let no vindictive feelings sully your cause ; thus upholding your just rights gently but firmly, God's help will be yours. In the Bible, in such histories as that of the multitude of slaves brought through the sea and the desert out of bondage, we read the divine justification of democracy. You may, perchance, have to suffer, but who would not willingly throw his body into the moat, if over him his brethren may march to victory ?"

Of Mr. Crosskey's attitude on the Temperance question, which was then beginning to come to the front, I prefer to give his own short and clear account. "During my time at Derby," he says, "and for many years afterwards, I was a total abstainer. Indeed I only abandoned it after forty

years of age through the medical advice of Dr. W. B. Carpenter, himself an eminent total abstainer. In the Temperance work at Derby I took considerable part."

But the young minister's energy and enthusiasm were not sated even by such social and educational activities as these. In the wider field of politics, national and international, he took no mean part. Let me transcribe from his autobiographical notes the sentences in which he defines his attitude in matters political.

"Believing," he says, "that a minister of Religion ought still to do his duty as a citizen, I took part in the political affairs of Derby—on what was then understood as the "RADICAL" as contrasted with the WHIG side.

"There was considerable friction in Derby between the Radicals and Whigs—and I am afraid I did not lessen it since I acted strenuously with those who attempted and not unsuccessfully to "force the pace."

"As instances of the kind of struggle between Radicals and Whigs the following are typical:—

"1.—At official Whig meetings, any reference to the Irish Church question was forbidden as dangerous to the unity of the Liberal party.

"When called upon to speak, however, of course I introduced it, and was severely blamed for my 'imprudence.'

"2.—A meeting was called in support of Lord John Russell's Bill anent the Establishment of a Roman Catholic Hierarchy in England—of which the point was the forbidding Roman Catholic Bishops to assume the names attached to English sees.

"The Rev. W. Griffiths (a powerful Primitive Methodist preacher) and I moved and seconded an amendment which was tumultuously but most emphatically carried."

We have already seen that with this last-named topic he dealt vigorously in the pulpit itself. I presume that he was already on the eve of closing his Derby ministry, when he wrote from Manchester the following letter. No month or year is given. "Charles" was a wealthy young manufacturer at Derby, whose warm sympathy and support the courageous young reformer had early enlisted.

"Manchester, Wednesday.

"Dear Charles,

"I don't quite feel that it's right to be out just now, while you are all battling against those tricksters who put forward any opinions to get votes—and seem to care not for Honor or Honesty, so long as they can win power for their faction. The same trick is being played here; two LIBERALS(?) oppose Gibson and Bright, and are brought forward by ultra Tories!! It is enough to make a man ashamed of politics; an honest straightforward

combat of principles we all respect; a consistent fair opponent I honour, but an opponent who will profess anything and everything for party purposes, does awaken one's indignation.

"Will you please write to me at once at Mr. Robertson's, 21, Maxwell Street, Glasgow, to tell me when the election is fixed to be!

"I shall have a word or two to say to ——— and some of 'em when I come back; one might have a very selfish object in view in preaching to 'em, to judge from their tattle. When will they learn that the members of a church should think first of the great principles entrusted to their keeping, a sacred pledge for which they are responsible—and make no care for mere personalities compared with the interests of those principles?

"Yours ever,

"H. W. CROSSKEY."

"I hope you attend to the school for me a little."

Writing his "Memoranda" in 1893, Dr. Crosskey thus summed up his youthful work at Derby. "Of course I made many mistakes at Derby—socially and politically, as well as personally, I blundered about. That I won many warm friends was because my *ends and aims* met with their sympathy and served, like charity, to cover a multitude of sins."

With a newspaper letter showing the kind of opposition with which Mr. Crosskey—like many a radical parson before and since—sometimes had to contend, I will close the present chapter.



*"To the Editor of 'The Derbyshire Advertiser.'"*

"Sir,—In your last week's paper, the Rev. C. C. Layard is reported to have condemned the introduction into Ashborne 'for the purpose of lecturing on the cultivation of the mind, of a party who, he had been informed, did not hesitate to take his text from the works of Lord Byron, instead of the Bible, when preaching in his pulpit on the Sabbath day.'

"Presuming that I am the party alluded to, I beg to give the most unqualified denial to Mr. Layard's assertion, and to assure him that I never took a text from any book but the Bible. At the same time, however, I confess there are passages in Lord Byron's poetry I would rather take as texts, than attempt to throw odium upon a fellow-man by making against him a charge I could not substantiate.

"Yours, &c.,

"HENRY W. CROSSKEY."

## CHAPTER III.

### LIFE AND WORK IN GLASGOW—STORM AND STRESS.

**I**N the year 1852, Mr. Crosskey's rising reputation brought him two invitations from important Churches, the one lying in the extreme South, the other in the distant North.

The choice lay between Exeter and Glasgow, and it was no easy choice to make. The salary offered by the Exeter Unitarians was nearly double that which the younger society at Glasgow was at that time able to offer. But the young minister felt that the old cathedral city would not present the same sphere for his vigorous activity as the more stirring atmosphere of the great commercial capital of Scotland. Nor could he count on the same "unchartered freedom" theological and political in quiet Devon as amid the rush and turmoil of Scottish city life. A visit to Glasgow, where the congregation had just lost the virile services of the Rev. Charles Clarke, confirmed this view. He found there a Church intellectually alive in a rare degree and with manifest capacities for development and growth. He therefore accepted the Glasgow pulpit in September, 1852.

On receiving his resignation, his Derby people presented him with a service of silver plate and a handsome watch and chain.

On the seventh of September he married the daughter of Mr. Richard Aspden, an accountant of Manchester, who was for very many years the zealous Assistant Secretary of Manchester New College. The venerable John Kenrick, writing to Mr. Crosskey on Mr. Aspden's death, nearly twenty years later, describes him as "a model of a man, fulfilling his duties conscientiously and unambitiously," and adds: "He was the unchanging element of the College Committee. The College might change its place from York to Manchester, from Manchester to London. Presidents, Treasurers, Secretaries came and went, but there was the same Richard Aspden, grave, intellectual, courteous, methodical, always ready with his facts and figures, straightforward in his actions and reliable in his words." The biographer of Dr. Crosskey may only say that the daughter proved worthy of the father and the husband, and add these touching sentences which the husband himself wrote at the close of his "Memoranda" on his Glasgow ministry. "In the foregoing pages I have only described matters connected with Church work and general public work; but this description would be extremely incomplete as a personal record, if I did not add that I owe at least two-thirds of my power to be of the

slightest service either to the religious interests committed to my charge or to the community in which I lived, to the support, the influence, the noble character and the most faithful affection of my wife, whom I hold alike in my mind as in my heart, as in every way my superior. Her guidance has been the highest privilege and her love has been the dearest delight of my life."

The Glasgow ministry, which continued for seventeen years, carrying Mr. Crosskey from twenty-six years of age to forty-three, had for him much happiness and sunshine. Here all his children were born. Here the bonds between him and his congregation, cordial and affectionate from the first, became ever closer, unbroken by a single misunderstanding or dissension. But I propose in this chapter to tell of the "*Sturm und Drang*" which deepened its interest and added to it some elements of pain, leaving the calmer and more sunny side of this Scottish life for subsequent narration.

The elements of pain were not in the struggle to win a place of honour for his Church and its principles in Glasgow, for though this was indeed a matter of "storm and stress," the young Englishman threw himself into the conflict with a lusty vigour which found in many a hard-fought battle a soldier's zest. "The strength of prejudice against Unitarianism in 1852," he says, "and some subsequent years was extraordinary; but I thoroughly enjoyed the combat against it, and it put me in high spirits."

When he became a candidate for membership of the Glasgow Philosophical Society, he encountered at once an organised resistance to his election on the simple ground that he was a Unitarian minister, a ground which was openly avowed. Some of the leading scientific members of the Society, however, men of high standing in the academic world, at once set themselves in opposition to the attempt to apply a religious test, and he was triumphantly elected. The attack proved no small advantage to him. It brought him scientific friends, who were resolved to show by their treatment of the heretic their repugnance to the bigotry which he had innocently aroused. Later on he was elected on the Council, and later still he became Honorary Librarian, in the tenure of which office the chief responsibility fell on him for the choice and purchase of scientific books. So completely did he vindicate his position as a scientific leader in spite of theological heresies, that when he at last left Glasgow, the pious Scots of the Society presented him with a magnificent microscope (Ross's A1) at a meeting presided over by Professor Allan Thompson, of the Glasgow University.

Several of the more eminent professors of the University, moved, as he believed, in no small degree by the desire to enter a practical protest against the bigotries of the day, received him into their close personal friendship early in his residence. Among

these in the first instance was Professor Nichol, whose friendship was not only personally delightful, but, as he records, "brought with it educational, social and political influence, since to act with him was in itself a distinction." Professor Nichol had expressed a loving desire to contribute some reminiscences to the present volume. Overcome, however, by the death of his wife and enfeebled by broken health, unhappily he had not fulfilled his design when he himself was called to his rest within a year of the death of his old friend.

Other friends in the University circle, made in these early Glasgow days, were Professor Allan Thompson, Professor Young, Professor Jack, Professor Edward Caird, now Master of Balliol, and Sir William Thompson, now Lord Kelvin.

But generous as was the reception of the brave young minister by the men of true light and leading in Glasgow, a prolonged battle had to be waged ere his purity of character and nobility of aim were recognized by the average Scot. It continually fell to him to lead forlorn hopes in the cause of religious and civil liberty. Among the fiercest questions of the day was that of Sabbath observance. A deliberate attempt was made to scuttle the first steamer that sailed upon a Sunday. The captain's child was refused the rite of baptism. The outraged father appealed to Mr. Crosskey who willingly undertook the service. On one occasion Mr. and Mrs.

Crosskey were locked up in a committee-room to ensure their safety till the angry crowd that had gathered should disperse. A public meeting of "the friends of the Sabbath" was called at the City Hall to discuss the question of the opening of the National Gallery, the Crystal Palace and the British Museum on Sundays. All Presbyterian Glasgow was there, and the platform showed an imposing array of clerical notabilities. But in spite of apparent efforts to pack the meeting and the closing of the doors against the general public at an hour which excluded the working-men, Mr. Crosskey and a small body of retainers were there. Ruled out of order at his first attempt, the young reformer succeeded in getting some sort of a hearing, in spite of "cheers, hisses and uproar," for a speech in which he advocated an amendment to the crucial resolution. His amendment was worded thus: "That, in the opinion of this meeting, the Sabbath is kept holy to God when it is made most useful to man; and that, while this meeting would deprecate the resumption of ordinary business on the Sabbath day, it yet believes that the opening of the British Museum, National Gallery, Crystal Palace, and similar institutions is not forbidden by any command of God, and would be conducive to the present and eternal welfare of man, both in a moral and religious point of view." Needless to relate that the amendment was lost and the original resolution

carried by "an overwhelming majority." It is not difficult to imagine the electric atmosphere which would be generated in that concourse of the "unco guid" by the fearless pleadings of the Southron heretic. But the heretic had said his word and sown his seed and doubtless went to bed that night with an approving conscience and a sense that he had done a stroke in the cause of the Lord.

But terrible as Mr. Crosskey's views on the Sabbath question were deemed by the good burghesses of Glasgow, his most deadly heresy was of course his Unitarianism. Ten years previously Scotland had been rent in twain by the mighty controversy which led to the secession of the heroic Chalmers and his party and the constitution of the Free Kirk with its dauntless voluntarism. But on the matter of the Trinity and the proper Deity of Jesus Christ there was no rift in the orthodoxy of Establishment, Free Kirk or United Presbyterianism. In trinitarian orthodoxy, Scottish theology was hard and solid as a block of Aberdeen granite. And a young man who set himself to proclaim the unqualified humanity of Christ and the legitimacy of continental criticism of the Christian Scriptures necessarily appeared to average Glasgow as a blasphemer against the Word of God and a reckless seducer of youth. So powerful was the prejudice that the editor of a leading paper, himself a man of liberal opinion in religion, declined



to be seen walking with him in the city streets. His domestic life was not free from the curious prying of those who found it hard to believe that a Unitarian marriage could be made in heaven; and the young minister and his wife were amused by the reported comment of some casual sea-side acquaintance that, "*after all*, Mr. and Mrs. Crosskey seemed to live very happily together."

Not only did Mr. Crosskey find himself excluded from local committees and meetings on public affairs generally, but when during the building of his new Church, application was made for the use of the public rooms at the Athenæum for the Sunday services, it was met with a peremptory refusal. The refusal afforded Mr. Crosskey and his friends the opportunity of emphatic public protest, and the following incisive letter was addressed by him and four leading men of his congregation to the members of the Athenæum. It is dated "Athenæum, Glasgow, 20th December, 1853."

"Gentlemen,

"Personally strangers to the majority of you, we should not now solicit your attention, were it not that a recent decision of the Directors of our Institution appears to us subversive of one of its fundamental principles, and, therefore, injurious to its best interests.

"You are aware that a revenue has been derived from letting the Large Hall of the Institution for

Religious Services on the Sabbath day. It was for some time rented by the Morisonians, and is now occupied by the Wesleyans. The Unitarians having applied for its use, on the usual terms, when the present tenants shall have evacuated it, their application has been refused.

“The Athenæum exists, according to one of its fundamental laws, for the “Moral, Scientific, and Literary Improvement of its Members,” and is therefore *a strictly Neutral Institution, so far as Religious differences are concerned*. It opens its doors to Members of every sect, and numbers amongst its actual supporters men of every shade of theological belief. When, therefore, the Directors take it upon themselves to favour one sect more than another, and refuse to treat Unitarians as they have treated Wesleyans and Morisonians, they, by that act, are guilty of introducing Theological Partizanship into the management of a Non-Sectarian Institution. The Athenæum takes no more legal cognizance of *Sect*, than does the criminalcode of our country; and it would be no more monstrous an abuse of authority for the magistrates to deny a Unitarian the protection of the civil power for the preservation of his property, than it is for the Directors of the Athenæum to grant peculiar privileges to particular Theological parties.

“But it may be urged that the Unitarians are such dangerous heretics that the Directors cannot

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conscientiously afford them facilities for the diffusion of their opinions. Gentlemen, surely the Directors were not elected by a constituency composed of Catholics, Unitarians, Morisonians, Free-Church-men, and who not, for the purpose of deciding what is dangerous heresy and what valid Orthodoxy? By what authority, conferred by the laws of a Theologically Neutral Institution, can they claim the right, *as the Directors of the Athenæum*, to enter into Theological matters at all? Elected for the management of a Non-Theological Institution, by what right do they assume more than the authority of a Presbytery? It is argued by some that the interests of the Institution would suffer from its being supposed to have anything to do with Unitarianism. Was it ever imagined, we ask, that the mere rental of the Hall, by the Morisonians and Wesleyans, at all identified the Athenæum with either of those Sects? An Institution that treats all parties with equal justice cannot be fairly accused of identifying itself unduly with any creed; but an Institution that does *not* give fair play to all, lays itself open to more than the suspicion of a Sectarian bias. The danger of being identified with a party, therefore, lies with the commission of injustice, and not on the side of fair play.

“There are some, however, who maintain, that though the Athenæum, supposing it granted the

application of the Union Street Church, would not be confounded with Unitarianism, by those who knew anything about the matter, yet, that the general public would not enquire, and therefore, as a fact, would be prejudiced, and the Institution thereby come to harm—a catastrophe they are bound to prevent. We would respectfully submit that no fear of consequences should deter the Directors of any Institution from refusing to attend to considerations excluded by its laws, and that, where those laws exclude Sectarian matters, no fear of consequences can justify the breach of good faith involved in their recognition. To rule an Unsectarian Athenæum by Sectarian considerations, is surely a breach of faith, for the justification of which the mere vague fear of popular prejudice is utterly inadequate. Moreover, if an Institution, designed to have an educational influence on the young men of a great city, pleads that a fair and just course of conduct would injure its reputation, does it not by that very plea surrender altogether its *Educational* character, and place itself at the mercy of any theological party which may raise an outcry against any part of its management. The best interests of the Athenæum are far more deeply involved in the general justice of its management, than in pandering to what may possibly be said, by parties who will not take the trouble to ascertain, by inquiry, that it would be no more pledged to

Unitarianism, by letting its Hall to Unitarians, than it is pledged to Wesleyanism by letting it to Wesleyans.

"Gentlemen, this is not a mere dispute with Unitarians, but a broad question of principle; the question, in truth, is, *shall the management of an Institution, strictly neutral in Theological matters, in its Spirit and its Laws, be practically abused to Sectarian purposes?* An effort is being made to obtain signatures to a requisition for a general meeting, to decide this important question. If it be determined that the Athenæum is strictly Sectarian, those who wish to unite for the general purposes of intellectual culture, on a basis broader than any sect can furnish, must look elsewhere, and the Athenæum must cease to be numbered among the truly PUBLIC Institutions of Glasgow."

Much more momentous, however, than the prejudices of local orthodoxy against the views and principles impersonated in Mr. Crosskey were the controversies, in which he and his people became involved, with the leaders of the older school of Unitarianism in England. Those who have any acquaintance with Unitarian Christianity, as it is preached in Great Britain in this closing decade of the century, know that it is in closest alliance with the most advanced thought of our time. On questions of history, of criticism, of science, of philosophy,

its sole rule of judgment is the free and untrammelled application of reason and perfect openness of mind to all new thought and scholarship, which the wider outlook of our time presents. No reverent worshipper of God is debarred by theological opinion from occupying the pulpits of those Churches left free at their foundation, though now generally associated with the Unitarian name. But few of the Unitarians of the day realise how great has been the expansion of the practical liberty of their ministers in the last thirty or forty years, or by what struggle, what courage, what clearness of mental vision that expansion has been secured. The British and Foreign Unitarian Association now publishes every year tracts, essays and sermons, which a generation since its rulers would have declined to place upon their shelves; and hundreds of Unitarian ministers are proclaiming to attached and united congregations opinions which would have closed against them the pulpits of most of our Churches at the time that young Crosskey became pastor of his Glasgow flock.

Unitarianism in Southern Britain is a development from the Presbyterianism of the seventeenth century. Many of the ejected ministers of 1662, when toleration was accorded, founded societies for religious worship outside the pale of the Established Church. Whether with eyes open to the true consequences of their policy or because they regarded

their exclusion from the national communion as merely temporary, they left these societies doctrinally unguarded. Their meeting-houses were put in trust "for the worship of Almighty God" or in language equally broad. The result has generally been the gradual passage of the societies they founded from Calvinism through Arminianism and Arianism, first to the older Unitarianism basing itself on Scriptural authority, then on to that newer Unitarianism which relies on the converging argument of criticism, science and philosophy, and inscribes the names of Theodore Parker and James Martineau in the calendar of its prophets.

But Unitarianism in Scotland has no such history behind it. Where it has obtained a footing it has been as a distinct and definite protest against the current theology of the great Presbyterian communities. The Glasgow congregation was Unitarian in its inception, and its property was bound by trust-deed to the profession of Unitarian opinions.

Founded so recently as the year 1810, it was ministered to for many years by the learned James Yates. And if the Unitarian doctrine to which it was pledged had not been formulated in definite articles, it was because Mr. Yates and his coadjutors conceived of Unitarian Christianity as a doctrine sufficiently defined, and anticipated no radical changes in its form or its spirit. But the inseparable characteristic of Unitarianism has always

been the tendency to development and adaptation to the time. Such development was stimulated in the highest degree by the bold intellect and ardent liberalism of Mr. Crosskey. And after a period of more than forty years, its first minister in his venerable age became aware that the Church, which he had served in his youth and nursed into life, had become the centre of teaching wholly alien to his conservative temperament and his own original intentions; and it only needed the occasion to bring about sharp conflict between the old ideas and the new.

The occasion was as follows:—In 1854 a deputation from Mr. Crosskey's congregation visited England to collect funds for the completion of the building of the projected new Church in St. Vincent Street. On their return they announced that their efforts had been in great measure frustrated by damaging rumours current in London in regard both to minister and to congregation. After some preliminary discussion, a meeting of the congregation was held to consider these rumours and their effect. Of this meeting the following report was published in the Glasgow Unitarian Magazine for August:

"The congregation met, in accordance with previous intimation, in the Mechanics' Hall, at the close of the morning service, on Sunday, the 5th current, to consider the report submitted at a



previous meeting by Messrs. Millar and Haddow—the deputation appointed to proceed to London, and solicit from the Unitarians there, subscriptions towards the building fund for the proposed new Church—and, on the motion of Mr. John Haddow, William Teacher, Esq., one of the trustees, took the chair.

“After some preliminary business, Mr. Joseph Millar, on behalf of the deputation, again read their report of proceedings. The report, after detailing the proceedings of the deputation in London, stated that the success of their mission had been much hindered by misrepresentations of the position and aims of the congregation, and of the labours of our respected minister, which they found had obtained currency amongst the Unitarians in London. These representations were to the effect, (1) That the congregation and its minister were in sympathy with the views of Mr. G. J. Holyoake; (2) That the Scriptures were discarded; (3) That mere literary lectures had been substituted for religious discourses on Sunday, and the Church perverted from its legitimate purpose—a house of Christian worship—to a secular hall, or, at least, a Deistical meeting. The report then noticed the facts which were referred to in support of these allegations, and the statements which the deputation had opposed to them; and gratefully acknowledged the kindly interest manifested in their objects, and the

highly commendatory letters they had received from the Rev. John James Tayler, Principal of Manchester New College, London, and the Rev. Henry Solly, of Carter Lane Chapel, and the valuable aid rendered them by H. J. Preston, Esquire.

"After a few observations in reference to the report and the position of the congregation, Mr. Millar moved the following resolutions:—

"Resolved—1st, That this meeting expresses its sincere regret at the misunderstandings as to the position and objects of this Church which the deputation recently returned from London found prevailing there; and takes this opportunity of declaring that these rumours have arisen, so far as can at present be known, from statements either inaccurate in point of fact, or from misapprehension and misconstruction of the proceedings of this society.

"2nd, That, notwithstanding these unfavourable impressions, we have the most undoubting confidence that this congregation is at present occupying an important and useful position in opposing a stern Calvinism on the one hand, and a reckless spirit of scepticism and negation on the other, and is promoting in a very marked and satisfactory way the cause of Unitarian Christianity.

"3rd, That we rejoice in the cordial union which has for years subsisted among us, and we have the confident assurance that, notwithstanding the

tendency of the rumours referred to, to create division, we shall yet outlive them, and dwell together as members of a Christian Church, in the bonds of peace and brotherly affection.

"4th, That inasmuch as the character and position of our respected minister, the Rev. Henry W. Crosskey, is by the rumours referred to sought to be compromised, we hereby beg to tender him our warmest sympathy, and to express our solemn conviction that he is unjustly judged. That while we have no wish to claim for him freedom from error, either in speech or action, we yet are convinced that his labours are directed to build up a strong, united, and loving congregation, and to promote the cause of Unitarian Christianity in Scotland; and we are confident that time and devotion to duty will make his position and that of this congregation better understood; and our hope is that his connection with us as our minister may long continue to exist, and be as harmonious as it has hitherto been."

The slender basis of fact on which the attack on Mr. Crosskey was founded was that (1) he had dedicated a little work entitled "A Defence of Religion," to Mr. Holyoake; that (2) he frequently gave Sunday evening lectures on the religious aspects of literature; and that (3) he also gave lectures applying the methods of modern criticism to the Bible. To dedicate a book to a propagandist

of secularism was not the act of a minister worldly-wise; but it was the chivalric impulse of a young man who felt that he had a foeman intellectually and morally worthy of his steel. Mr. Crosskey had often attended the lectures of Mr. Holyoake and offered replies to his attacks upon religion.

After the proceedings at the congregational meeting reported above, Mr. Crosskey made the following speech:—

“Friends and fellow-worshippers,

It is now nearly two years since I came among you, in answer to your hearty request. I came as a free man, to speak to free men honest thoughts on those mighty religious truths and holy experiences which are the light of our brightest day, and the strength of our saddest weakness. You asked from me no other pledge; you honoured me with that confidence which is the best bond between a minister and his people, as it is between man and man.

“Last autumn, circumstances having arisen which gave me a call to another city, I asked you plainly and straightforwardly touching your contentment with our union. In previous preaching you learnt such faith as then I had, assuredly veiled in no mystic disguise, but perhaps couched in language such as naturally rises to a young man’s lips, too regardless of what popular misapprehension might do with its naked terms. Though it would have

given me a pang to part with friends so newly formed, I was ready to hear that the cast of my mind was not attuned to harmony with yours. But you gave me confidence, the heartiest and most genial, and renewed expressions of warm and courteous friendship.

"I now learn from the report given us by our friends forming our deputation to London, that falsehoods and misrepresentations almost innumerable exist among the Unitarians in that city, concerning the general tendency of my Ministry among you, and the position our Church seeks to occupy. There is scarce any charge that could damage the influence of a minister and a Church among strangers, that does not appear to fall upon our devoted heads. Again, therefore, I stand face to face with you, fellow-worshippers and friends, and appeal to your better knowledge. If I have YOUR confidence it will be no hard matter to bear the worst that Dame Gossip, with her accustomed veracity, can effect. If I can aid with such feeble words and feebler deeds as lie within my reach, your spiritual life—if, by the services of our Church, heavenly aspirations can gain strength, and penitence be induced to weep those tears that the Father ever wipes away—if among you I can uplift with any efficacy that pure ideal of character Christian History enshrines—well content am I to forget all foreign rumour, by giving heart and strength, and life, to the demands of this Ministry.

"1. The first charge against us appears to be that we favour and support Infidelity.

"I wonder that even gossip does not pause before it utters a charge so utterly at variance with every word that has ever fallen from my lips. You know that from this pulpit religion has ever been proclaimed the strength of the mind, the joy of the heart, the true light of the whole being of a man. You know that the great spirit of the Christian faith has been inculcated as the only power capable of bearing men onward to the full stature of their perfect manhood. But those who seem to be our opponents in this matter cry out that they have evidence—proof positive. Yes! I have spoken well of a sceptic—dedicated a book to Mr. Holyoake. Some say that my estimate of that gentleman's character is too high; others that I have been guilty of considerable imprudence. These matters I stop not now to discuss. I would simply notice the extraordinary inference, that because I profess friendship for a sceptic, I am no Christian teacher. Why, it appears to me infinitely unchristian to deny a fact that almost every man's experience testifies to. What man is there who has thought deeply that has not passed through the desert of doubt? Let him look within and ask himself whether *then* he felt himself necessarily wicked and impure—let him judge others by his own experience, and learn that there may be purity where there is

doubt. Can any man read history and not know this fact? Noble spirits rise up, from age to age, unable to find a firm faith amidst prevailing mystery; and through holiness of life rebuke the blasphemy that their unbelief is guilt! Shall we serve God with falsehood? If a man be just, and honest, and pure, is it any honour to the great Master to deny the fact? Christ and God forbid!

"I am blamed for admitting the uprightness of a sceptic in a defence of religion. My own feeling was that the very time to admit a man's honesty is when attacking him. When could we more properly tell a man that we respect him, than when we throw heart and soul into our opposition to his system? Then, if ever, is the time to show that your opposition is not polluted by want of charity, or darkened by vindictive ill-will! However mistaken this act so criticised may be, I claim the right to have it judged as an attempt to advance pure and undefiled Christianity; and as no disqualification to the usefulness of a religious teacher. Another proof of our general infidelity is, that Mr. Holyoake spoke in this Church. I need not explain to you your own custom of letting your old Church (as some other orthodox Churches in the city are let) for general secular purposes—in accordance with which your Treasurer acted. Some of you disapproved of his act, others approved. For all among us, however, I claim judgment as being actuated by a

desire to advance religion. Those approving the Treasurer's act might say, 'We believe that defenders of religion often caricature their opponents—set up men of straw and knock them down readily enough—let us then hear the ablest representations of the ablest opponent, that we may do battle for our faith against its worst foes.'

"I protest against such a mode of thought, however mistaken, being denounced as irreligious. Is it irreligious to try to vindicate religion from the strongest possible objections, rather than from shadows? Is it irreligious to dare the hardest battle in defence of Christian faith? Verily, theologians must have fallen low, if they can condemn the heroism of defence as a betrayal of the cause!

"However great may be the differences of opinion with respect to particular circumstances, we claim for this Church the honour of being again and again successful in defence of its faith. What have the old abusive methods of treating sceptics resulted in? Their results have been, in a thousand cases, the producing a sheer disgust to religion altogether. If a man is to be converted to religion, he must be shown that it is a love and not a hate—that it teaches its believers gentleness, and does not arouse within them dogmatic ill-will. We have put the matter to the test; and many minds and hearts are now among us that once wandered in



lonely paths of doubt, who, unless our Christianity had been a religion of love, would never have bowed down in worship within our temple.

“2. The second grave charge against this Church is that it has become a mere secular hall, and not a house of prayer—devoted to literary purposes, and not to worship. This you all know, is simple downright falsehood! It seems to be heresy to-day to believe too thoroughly in God! I believe in an Infinite God pervading all things with His holy presence—a God from whom proceeds all that is beautiful in art, all that is wise in thought, all that is great in character—and because, forsooth, it has been sought to illustrate this truth, because it has been sought to show God in all things beautiful, brave, and good, this Church has been pronounced a secularist hall! The beauty of our faith will enable us to bear such a caricature, and we would rather be misunderstood than abandon so vital a doctrine of the religion we love.

“3. A third charge is with reference to the views we are supposed to hold about the Scriptures.

“It is utterly false that we do not prize them, as beyond price, in their power of feeding the religious life of man. Ages yet to come shall drink in spiritual faith from the glories of Isaiah's mighty commune with the Eternal—from the depths of David's penitence, and the grandeur of his joy in God—and from the records of that people, who

even in their most terrible errors, sought to glorify their God!

"It is utterly false that we do not honour Christ and Christianity, as the mightiest influences for the regeneration and civilization of this earth. We love to bring the great Master, not as a magic charm, but as a vital power, to act upon the soul in its deadness and its sloth. We cannot tell what our characters would have been without his influence—we cannot tell what the world would have been without his faith. But among us, there are (as in almost every other Christian Church) differences with respect to the *letter* of our faith. One in its spirit, we cannot see that one man has any right to impose his exact interpretation of Scripture upon another as infallible truth. We seek not an unattainable unity in the letter, but the unity of the *spirit* in the bond of peace!

"Friends and fellow-worshippers, my appeal now is to you, whether among yourselves there is not brotherhood?—Whether we are not one in spirit?—Whether we are not one in desire to advance true religion and establish it on an unshaken basis?—Whether we are not one in reverential endeavour to discover each revelation of God's will?—Whether we are not one in reverence of the great, broad, genial, holy *spirit* of our Christian faith?

"With your confidence—with your unity—with your hearty fellowship, I fear nothing for our cause;

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and in this place we will erect a temple at once free and devout, Christian in spirit and honest in thought, in which our souls shall verily meet our Father and our God."

It is needless to say that the speaker carried the meeting with him and received throughout the conflict that ensued the enthusiastic support of his people.

But the battle was now to be taken up by the Rev. James Yates in person—a man whose learning and character and protracted services gave him a highly influential position among English Unitarians.

In the following number of the Congregational Magazine we find the subjoined letters:—

*From the Rev. James Yates to a Trustee of the Glasgow Unitarian Church.*

"        •        •        •        •        Since Messrs. M—— and H—— were here, I have obtained Mr. Crosskey's "Defence of Religion," and taking Chapter VII. more especially as a summary of his views, and comparing with it the Preamble to the "constitution" (so called) of the Glasgow Unitarian Church, which accompanied your letter, I cannot for a moment hesitate to declare that, in my opinion, such sentiments are completely at variance with the principles and design of the founders of the Society. I have no doubt that if you were to apply to my successors, Messrs. Mardon and Harris, they

would testify the same thing. I now appeal to my sermon preached at the opening of the chapel, and to my vindication and sequel in reply to Wardlaw; and, if there were any of my hearers still living and resident in Glasgow, I could appeal to the whole tenor of my services in the pulpit as proofs, that the sentiments now advanced are quite different from those maintained till the time of Mr. John Taylor; and it is well known that when he embraced Deistical sentiments, there was no controversy about the necessity of his retirement: at least he withdrew, and his adherents opened for him another place.

“I understand the present question to be not about the truth or beneficial influence of any set of opinions, but as to what opinions were designed to be maintained, and ought now to be maintained, by the aid of these particular funds. I might observe that the law will not support the opposite view. If the chapel was torn down by a mob, and redress sought, the law would say that such views as those now promulgated were beyond the protection of the law, and that the law could not contemplate their advancement. As to ‘Free Inquiry,’ this was never understood by Unitarians, or other Dissenters, as including the possibility of giving up the authority of the Scriptures. It meant inquiry unfettered by creed or subscriptions, *i.e.*, the right and duty of searching the Scriptures to ascertain

their true meaning and import, by the rules of grammar and criticism, and with all the aids of correct interpretation, in opposition to the method of explaining the Scriptures in conformity with the Thirty-nine Articles, the Westminster Confession, or any other human formulary.

“As you ask my advice, I certainly think that as a trustee you are bound to oppose the application of the property in a way so evidently immoral as well as illegal; nor do I think that the parties opposed to you can be allowed to obtain possession by giving a new sense—a sense of their own—to the terms ‘Christian,’ ‘Unitarian,’ and ‘Free Inquiry.’”

This letter elicited the annexed reply:—

*From the Rev. H. W. Crosskey to the Rev. James Yates.*

“        •        •        •        •        I would most respectfully ask why, because you personally disagree with my book, you consider yourself justified in favouring or advising my dismissal from a Unitarian pulpit—the course your letter so plainly recommends? Suppose you should disagree with Mr. Martineau’s ‘Rationale of Religious Inquiry,’ would you therefore institute or authorise an attempt to drive that gentleman from connexion with the Unitarian body? Yet this book contains far more in opposition to what is technically called ‘the authority’ of the Scriptures than the seventh chapter of my essay, which does

not enter upon the critical question at all ! Suppose you should disagree with Mr. Tayler's criticism, in his 'Religious Life of England,' on Dr. Priestley's definition of Christianity, would you therefore attempt to sever his connexion with Unitarianism ? Yet my only claim is for the Christian liberty there laid down. Unless you can claim this authoritative supervision over the Unitarian body, is it dealing equal justice to take this course with respect to the young minister of a most harmonious congregation (for I am thankful that, out of a Church of several hundred members, not a dozen people are at variance with respect to its pervading spirit), seeking, as they trust, the truth of God in the spirit of Christ ? I would most respectfully suggest that as long as the Unitarian body, as such, makes no authoritative and public declaration in favour of your exact definitions of Unitarianism and Christianity, whatever they may be, as long as students in the College supported by Unitarians are both granted and taught the liberty claimed by our Church, the liberty of differing from yourself or any other human authority as to the true elements of Scriptural teaching—so long it becomes nothing better than PERSECUTION to make one congregation and one young man marks of attack.

"Suppose, Sir, the principle carried out, that adoption of the exact phase of thought inculcated by the first minister (although not in the title deeds

of the Church) was to be for ever the sole condition of membership, would not many of our (now) Unitarian Churches be handed over to the Trinitarians? Nay, how many Churches could be found of any sect in which the same exact definition of Christianity is taught from age to age? It might be urged that the same fundamentals are taught: but the controversy is, what is fundamental and what not? What 'human' authority on this matter can a Unitarian Church be bound to accept? And surely it is no infringement of the respect due to so venerable a minister as yourself, to say, that your authority is but human, and that when you state that a Unitarian Church is not bound to accept 'any human formulary,' you yourself are excluded from imposing your own precise definition of Christianity upon your brethren.

"Neither can it be, Sir, any want of respect in me to draw your attention to the imputation, that a Church of conscientious men and its minister are adopting an 'IMMORAL' course of proceedings. Need I state that, in giving our own interpretation of Unitarianism, we are guided by motives and feelings, the uprightness and devoutness of which we believe should no more be called in question than your own. We have not, as a Church—I have not, as a minister—a trust from one or two men. Our responsibility is to the *Unitarian cause*; and, before God and our fellow-men, we struggle to do

our duty to that cause according to our light. We seek and desire to pervert no trust, and should be protected from such imputations as that conveyed in the word 'IMMORAL,' when we endeavour to discharge a Unitarian trust, guided by what we believe in our consciences are the broad, and free, and harmonising principles of Unitarian Christianity, rather than by the mortal formularies of human teachers. There is no disrespect to yourself, Sir, in this position—there is simple respect to what we honestly regard as the spirit, and history, and present position of our faith. The trust we hold is Unitarian, and it is contrary to Unitarianism (as evidenced by its whole literature) to make one or two men definers of its creed. However mistaken we may be, we respectfully urge that the term 'immoral' does not describe our position.

"There has been no attempt made to alter the trust-deed of the Church—even the (so-called) 'constitution' remains unexpunged; and how can it be proved contrary to Unitarianism, to let each man decide for himself whether he is a Unitarian and Christian or not, without introducing supplementary dicta? Is there any true Unitarian Church in existence, in which more is required of a man partaking of its sacrament than the evidence of his own heart to his Christian discipleship? Would it not be contrary, therefore, to a Unitarian trust to demand more?



"Is it not notorious that men of minds as various in character as those of Dr. Priestley and Mr. Martineau exist within the Unitarian body in holy union? Until the Unitarian body disavows this, how can a solitary Unitarian Church presume to do so?

"Rejoicing in these facts, many men have at various times subscribed largely to the Unitarian cause in Glasgow, and have a right to ask that what was given in good faith should not be perverted to the maintenance of unauthoritative and merely human tests. Although you appeal to the Bible in proof that any tests you may seek to impose are authoritative and Divine, yet the orthodox Trinitarian does the same; and in the midst of a hundred diversities, no consistent Unitarian Protestantism can place any proviso, or any limit, to the right of unfettered individual inquiry into the nature and meaning of the Scriptures.

"In our Church there are, we rejoice to acknowledge, representatives of various shades of thought current among Unitarians; and the great majority of us are content to live together in peace, worshipping the one Father in the spirit of the Great Master, and aiding one another in our struggles towards the heavenly life. I cannot conceive, Sir, that your heart should feel other than kindly sympathy with such union, or cherish any desire for its destruction. Surely it is union such as Paul would have loved and Christ blessed.

"I trust, Sir, no word has dropped from my pen inconsistent with that respect and deference due from a young man towards one so much his senior; but you yourself must see that the publication of a letter which seeks to deprive the Church under my charge of that Christian peace and union it so highly values, could not be passed by in silence.

"Yours respectfully,

"HENRY W. CROSSKEY."

Presently the attack on Mr. Crosskey found its way into the columns of *The Inquirer*, at that time the only organ of Unitarian Christianity in the weekly press. A sharp correspondence ensued, Mr. Crosskey defending himself with no little vigour. It is pleasant to find that several of his brother ministers in the south sent him warm expressions of sympathy, nor were these only those who shared his advanced religious views. Indeed, though a quarter of a century later it is probable that the great majority of Unitarian ministers were already in general accord with his theological views, at this time I doubt whether there were a dozen in the whole body who shared his opinions on the miraculous elements in the Christian Scriptures. He himself states that "the prejudice in England against ministers who did not believe in miracles was very strong; only two or three were known not to believe, and they had a kind of black mark affixed to their names which seriously hampered

them in their careers." As stated above, however, many of his brethren admired his courage and were as jealous for his liberty as though they had shared all his opinions. I find warm and affectionate letters among others from the Revs. Henry Solly, John Wright, Brooke Herford, and S. A. Steinthal. The Rev. James Martineau, then minister of Hope Street Church, Liverpool, and already exercising an unparalleled influence on Unitarian thought in England, wrote to him in a somewhat judicial strain. He says:

"It is very difficult to say precisely how far our respect for honest conviction, and indignation at a persecuting temper should carry us in our demonstrations towards men unjustly denounced. I do confess that, while I would stoutly resist any ill-usage of such a man as Holyoake, or any attempt to gag him, I could hardly *dedicate a book* to him: this act seeming to imply a special sympathy and admiration directed upon that which distinctively characterises the man. Negative defence from injury is very different from positive homage. After all, Holyoake's principles are undeniably more subversive of the greatest truths and genuine bases of human life than the most unrelenting orthodoxy. However it is a generous impulse to appear as the advocate of a man whom intolerance unjustly reviles."

Neither Mr. Yates's unfortunate counsels nor the assaults of *The Inquirer* led to any legal proceedings.

The British and Foreign Unitarian Association, of which the young heretic was one day to be the honoured President, for a time declined to keep in stock certain pamphlets from his pen. But the generous remonstrances of Dr. Hutton, who held a commanding position among the London Unitarians, brought the Committee to a better mind, and the controversy gradually died away.

When we turn to the "Defence of Religion," which was published in Chapman's "Library for the People," along with essays by Emerson, F. W. Newman, Herbert Spencer, J. A. Froude, and other eminent thinkers, we are filled with astonishment that either the chivalrous dedicatory words or the profoundly religious argument of the work itself should have seemed to any who had regard for spiritual freedom inimical to the interests of Christian faith. The general tone is closely akin to that of Theodore Parker's famous "Discourse," and the whole constitutes a very noble statement of what are now usually accepted as the common places of Unitarian Christianity.

The dedication is in these terms:—

TO GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, A MAN WHO, NOTWITHSTANDING HIS INABILITY TO SHARE THE THEIST'S FAITH, MUST PERMIT A THEIST TO REGARD HIS BRAVE SINCERITY, AND REVERENCE FOR TRUTH AND JUSTICE, AS ACCEPTABLE WORSHIP AT THE ALTAR OF THE HOLY OF HOLIES, THIS BRIEF ESSAY IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

I append a few paragraphs from the body of the work.

“Beset with mystery on every side—mysterious darkness preludeing infancy, and hovering over the grave—unable to lift an arm without exerting an incomprehensible force—our knowledge mocked by all attempts to explain the life of the smallest insect fluttering in the sunlight, or the meanest weed covered with the roadside dust—each blade of grass beneath our feet laden with fathomless wonders—ruled over by laws which, if broken, dash to earth with resistless power, laws which yield to no bewailings, are suspended by no intercessions, and reign omnipotent over humanity—is there no Father’s love which may be trusted when the shadows are darkest around; which the heart may rely upon when the mind blindly staggers and grasps for a resting-place; which shall prevent despair by whispering the sweet faith that resistless Destiny is but the omnipotence of Love? Must man bow before the darkness and the mystery, in solemn and awful endurance, saying with the soldier’s firmness when for the battle struggle he knits his strength, ‘O Darkness and Mystery of Life! whatsoever may be hidden I dare to meet? Does annihilation await me? I fold my hands and rest in peace. Shall I be summoned to war against the giant wrongs of another earth? I will not despair.’ Or can he look up with childhood’s most

trustful smile, and say in the glad accents of certain hope, 'O Darkness and Mystery of Life! ye are but the shadows of Love's light as it falls upon mortality—ye do but enwrap a spirit of beauty—in the future I fear not the unveiling of any terror, but know that the progress of the ages must gradually reveal the perfect God?'"

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"If these remarks have truth, why should man pray? If prayer can change no law of matter, inward culture, or social progress, of what worth is prayer? Prayer cannot inform God; the superstition of the *Getæ*, who killed a man every year as a messenger to give their Deities proper information concerning their wants, is extinct. God knoweth man's wants better than man can speak them, and is too wise to change Divine purposes at the request of purblind ignorance. Why, then, pray?

"The expression of natural emotion is ever blessed. It is a blessed thing to unburthen the heart unto a friend—the imparting wants and sorrows, aspirations and needs, weaknesses and hopes, can alter no natural law—still, on culture depends manhood—still, on observance of physical, intellectual, and moral laws, hangs weal or woe; and yet the heart's outpouring is sweetly blessed. The friend's sympathy has a strengthening power; weakness is uplifted, woe is lightened, despair encouraged, and fainting hope restored. No natural

laws are suspended, but power to use and obey is quickened through the wondrous influence of loving sympathy. By pouring forth the heart to a noble friend, better thoughts gain strength, evil desires shrink away ashamed, high aspirations arise in triumph and beckon onward. The communion of heart with heart is the deepest of joys, and all pure joys influence the character for good. Strength, and purity, and joy, issue from that loving intercourse which alters no law of culture, but simply springs from natural emotion and the trustful confidence of pledged affection. Believing in a Father—not in an Omnipotent demon, raising a red right arm to smite, but verily a Father—it is as natural to speak unto Him as unto a friend. Through the selfsame emotion which utters love to a friend, is adoration breathed to God. If the Theist's communion of prayer be deserving of ridicule, so also is the communion of friendship. There is strength in speaking with God as with a friend. Before the All-Pure, foul desires cannot live. When in the presence of God, selfishness throws off its mask. Many a man, when almost tempted astray by some disguised wrong, has knelt in prayer, and the very act of bringing the evil prompting into contact with a divine thought has revealed its foulness and saved him from pollution. There is Joy in speaking with God as with a friend, Joy that is reward for lonely anguish and the world's



proud contempt. Worship is, therefore, the utterance of a natural emotion, as reasonable as intercourse between friend and friend, and blessed alike for purity, strength, and joy. The heart stands justified in its divine adoration, as in its mortal love.

“But there is a point at which words fail alike in love and worship. Words cannot tell the heart’s fondest experiences; whosoever loveth, knoweth a solemn depth of affection within, sending forth no sound, still as the deeper sea beneath the sounding waves. Thus knoweth the heart a speechless worship. The love of the Infinitely Beautiful One is in higher moments so intensely felt that speech becomes impossible. Silent are we before the glorious revelation of God’s loveliness, visible in earth’s valleys and upon her mountains. Silent in worship when human destiny stands revealed to the eye of faith; when, gazing o’er earth, we see the harmonising of discords, the fall of impious usurpers, the release of imprisoned heroes, the uplifting of the poor and needy; and gazing within ourselves, we anticipate the day when every fault shall be expiated, every feeble wish for holiness uplifted into mastership, every pure affection gifted with intenser life. Yes! when we behold the grandeur of earth’s progress—when we grasp the destiny of man—then we cannot speak our loftiest worship, but ‘in expressive silence muse His praise.’



and in solemn earnestness dedicate ourselves anew to those all-wise Laws, obedience unto which gives Nature her divine beauty, and obedience unto which shall win for Humanity its majestic future."

The Essay closes with the following sentences :

"Viewing, then, Inspiration, Revelation, and Prophecy in the light of the principles we have attempted to establish, we conclude that God's inspired prophets are the holy men of every age, who, through manly culture, have sought His grace—and that the Bible of the absolute religion is the material and spiritual Universe which sprang forth from the depths of His creative Love.

"The great old Hebrew Books were the children of a race of men with whom God's inspiring presence was no memory of the past, and everywhere bear glorious witness to a living Lord of lords and King of kings. But they do not contain the complete fulness of Infinite Divinity. On behalf of the Absolute Religion, we claim that among the "CHRONICLES" of the great Bible of God must be written down every brave heroic deed, whether performed in Palestine by Jews, at Marathon by Greeks, at Worcester or Naseby by Englishmen, or in the pure privacy of domestic life—among its "PSALMS," every sorrowing chant of agony, whether breathed by excited Jews hanging their harps upon the willows, or modern patriots bewailing the out-pouring of noble blood on Hungarian soil—every

penitential strain breathed heavenward from the stricken heart of man—every glorious outburst of rapt devotion veiled beneath whatever phase of theologic creed—among its “PROPHECIES,” each far-seeing thought of mighty sages that has within itself alike the prophecy and the power of moulding the future according to its word.

“All heroic deeds—all adoring psalms—all far-seeing thoughts have place within the pages of the great Bible of the Absolute Religion. Its books cannot be bound up in one final volume, to which no additions are permitted—but every man and every age has the chapter of an Heroic and Devout History to write in the Holy Book of God.”

In the year 1860—midway in his Glasgow ministry—Mr. Crosskey received an invitation to become pastor of the Church at Newcastle-on-Tyne. He had already done an effective stroke for the freedom of the pulpit in the controversy which I have just reviewed. The negotiations with Newcastle gave him the opportunity to strike another blow for ecclesiastical liberty. The mark of the heretic was upon him, and a member of the Newcastle congregation wrote to him asking him, for the satisfaction of some of its members, to reply to certain queries which accompanied his letter. The queries were these:

“Whether you teach Christianity as one develop-

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ment of so called Absolute Religion ; or as a special and authoritative revelation from God through Jesus Christ, vouched by physical miracles, which God did by him ?

“ Whether, that Jesus Christ was commissioned to reveal the doctrine of Eternal Life by a resurrection from the dead ?

“ Whether, to confirm his special mission, he performed a series of physical miracles, of which the New Testament forms the authentic record—those miracles including at least two instances of raising the dead to life again by the power of God ?

“ Whether, after being crucified, and dying a natural death, he was on the third day, by the power of God, raised to life, and appeared to his disciples at different times, for forty days, affording them sensible and infallible proofs of his resurrection from the dead ?

“ Whether, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament form the only authentic repositories of the revealed will of God ? ”

To this communication Mr. Crosskey promptly replied in the following terms :

“ I have this morning received your letter of the 2nd instant, and acknowledge the courteous terms in which your request is couched. You call my attention to certain ‘ Queries,’ to which ‘ SOME of the congregation ’ are desirous of receiving answers ; and state that it is with the view of ‘ facilitating

arrangements,' which may 'probably' lead to my receiving an invitation from the Unitarian Congregation of Newcastle, to become its minister.

"Do you not perceive, my dear Sir, that it is entirely beneath the just dignity of my position as a Christian minister, to answer what appears to be a private communication from a *part* of the congregation, with the expressed view of influencing the decision of the whole? To enter upon private negotiations with respect to public offices, is a practice which, in the general affairs of life, you would, I am sure, be the last to sanction.

"As the matter now stands, I have simply complied with a request to preach at Newcastle, under certain conditions, definitely stated. Since my return home, I have received no official communication; and evidently, therefore, have no right and no duty to discuss any affairs connected with the election of a minister for the Newcastle Church.

"The propriety of reversing the ancient and acknowledged practice of the Presbyterian and Unitarian Churches; and of subjecting to a Theological Examination an educated minister in full communion with the body to which he belongs; and in actual charge of a Christian Church—is so grave a matter, that it should surely be decided upon by your whole Church; and officially communicated to me, before I can be justified in even entering upon the consideration of the subject.

"You will not therefore interpret it as any sign of personal disrespect that I am compelled to decline to communicate with respect to congregational affairs, or my own ministerial position, except in reply to adopted resolutions of the congregation itself.

"You will kindly excuse my frankness, and

"Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Very faithfully yours,

"HENRY W. CROSSKEY.

"Dr. \_\_\_\_\_"

So important was the attitude of Mr. Crosskey in thus absolutely refusing to respond to any theological catechism as a condition of appointment to a pulpit, at a time when the Unitarian body was greatly agitated by theological controversy, that it seems worth while to insert here a somewhat similar letter which he sent in reply to demands of the same kind from a prominent member of another large and wealthy church, which had turned its thoughts towards him. It is the staunch fidelity of such men as Mr. Crosskey to the principle of freedom, which has secured it in so rich a measure to a later generation of ministers; and it is impossible to be too grateful to one who, in more difficult times, expounded the principle with such lucidity and force.

He writes as follows:—

"With reference, my dear Sir, to my opinions upon certain historical questions, I cannot regard it

as consistent with the position of a Unitarian minister, to sign any creed, as preliminary to the acceptance of a congregation, beyond what is implied in the very fact of his being a religious teacher at all.

“Our Presbyterian forefathers were orthodox—but left their chapels simply for the worship of God, unwilling to pledge their posterity to what they themselves deemed essential to salvation. It would be unfaithfulness to them for any of their descendants to require what they dispensed with.

“The usual practice of Unitarian congregations is exemplified in the case of your own, in which, as you inform me, for 60 years past, no formal declarations of opinion have been demanded on the election of ministers. To the best of my belief, no minister of any eminence or character, now labouring in the Unitarian body, has ever signed, or would sign a ‘confession of faith,’ before accepting a pulpit.

“I have been connected with the Unitarian body from childhood, I have been educated at its college, and had the privilege of ministering to two of its congregations and the honour of an invitation to a third (viz., Exeter), and on no one occasion, has any creed been presented to me for signature.

“Indeed, my dear Sir, I would rather abandon preaching altogether, than enter a pulpit, the mere paid advocate of a party, and not a free man ready to follow wheresoever Truth and God may lead.

Though I might agree with any special views that for the time may be popular; though I might make a confession of faith thoroughly satisfactory to any existing majority, yet the mere fact of making such a confession as a condition of engagement, would be a fetter heavy alike in the study and the pulpit; and too great a burden for me to bear.

"At the present day, when so many different opinions exist among us, I can conceive of no more dangerous and unprofitable course, than for congregations to tempt the independence of their ministers, and to be unfaithful to their own privileges as churches of the free born. It will but open the way for endless strife; and substitute jarring partizanship for Christian union and quiet pursuit of truth.

"I hope, my dear Sir, these reasons will be satisfactory to you. It is not a question as to whether I, as an individual, believe this or that. I might be able to satisfy everybody for ought that can justly be inferred from any circumstances to which you refer, as the warrant of suspicions raised about me.

"It is a question striking at the root of the very constitution of our churches, and the very birth-right of their members.

"With pleasant remembrance, my dear Sir, for the hospitality experienced from you and other friends during my recent visit to Sheffield,

"Believe me,

"Very faithfully yours,

"H. W. CROSSKEY."

Neither Newcastle nor Sheffield was destined to tempt Mr. Crosskey from his outpost in the North, though his relations with the church in the former town appear to have become intimate and affectionate. When he finally declined the Newcastle invitation, the congregation sent him the following graceful resolution:—

“That the Unitarian Church of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, having received the final letter of the Rev. H. W. Crosskey, declining the invitation sent to him to become their permanent Pastor, desire to express their admiration of the judgement, good feeling, and Christian spirit by which his correspondence and intercourse with them have been characterized, and cordially to reciprocate his friendly wish for future kindly and more intimate relations between the Unitarian Churches of Glasgow and Newcastle. That the connection which is to remain unbroken between their brethren on the Clyde, and their able, earnest, and amiable minister, who has won the personal respect and esteem of the whole church on the Tyne, may be attended with ever increasing satisfaction and usefulness, is their sincere and heartfelt prayer.”

With this pleasant word of Christian fellowship I close the story of “storm and stress,” to turn to the more quiet and peaceful side of Mr. Crosskey’s seventeen years’ ministry at Glasgow.



## CHAPTER IV.

### LIFE AND WORK IN GLASGOW.

#### PREACHER, PASTOR, POLITICIAN.

**T**URNING to the more peaceful elements in the Glasgow life, we gather a bright picture of the young couple, their hopes and their aspirations, from a series of letters to that same "Charles," at Derby, who has already been mentioned in an earlier chapter. Hope, confidence, enthusiasm, fun, these constituted no bad stock-in-trade for the young minister with all his difficulties and battles before him. The three letters are again without date. They evidently belong, however, to the very beginning of the Glasgow ministry, and I give them in what appears to be their historical order.

"Glasgow, Friday.

"Dear Charles,

"We really hope to have a home of our own next week, and to flit from lodgings to "our house" on Monday, and as soon as fairly settled, with all things decently in order, we shall be sending for you to join us round "our ain fireside." I have hardly

got yet fairly to *hard work*,—have arranged for two classes a week—one for the study of religious subjects—at which we intend to trace the action of the religious sentiment in its various phases, in different stages of civilization, and to try to face those earnest doubts, which meet all truth-seeking spirits, at some time during their onward career. In nothing do our sects make a greater mistake perhaps, than in scoffing and scorning *doubts*,—they are said to show a wicked heart. In this class, I want to get the young minds, like my own, to *speak out* their doubts and obstinate questionings, so that they may be fairly met; how we shall succeed, it will be a matter of time to show.

“The other class is the “mutual improvement” one, and we have essays from working men sometimes, who are bold enough to try to express their thoughts, though their grammar prove strange, and their idiom uncouth.

“I intend to give lectures before the winter is over, on Monday evenings, but ‘wait a wee’ to see what is most needed.

“Then, we are always being asked out o’ nights; we spent a night this week some 20 miles down the Clyde, near Gareloch, and the glorious scenery is indeed refreshment and strength and joy to one’s inmost heart. It is indeed a lovely earth! How strange that it should be thought a religious thing to despise it!

“How goes on your class at the Institute? By all means work hard at the Institute, help them in the management, as well as in the teaching. You masters of factories have great duties and responsibilities, and in no way can you show more gratitude for not being bound to the hot room and machinery for small wage, gratitude for position and wealth, than by struggling to aid the moral and mental growth of those, by whose toil the harvest is made rich. Influence also involves responsibility; if we can influence others to good, and do it not, ours is the guilt. I have great hopes of your working hard, and you know, being a parson, I have unlimited license to sermonize. I hope you like the Dr.; in any matter of difficulty in congregational matters, go to him, and speak right out, and I feel sure his heart will do fair justice.

“By the way, could you send me your old ‘Reporters?’ I don’t care about their being some days old, and would pay a share to have it. I want to know how the world wags in Derby in public matters, as well as private, and should be very glad if you could make some arrangement for me to see the ‘Reporter’ regularly.

“Mind and urge the *Penny Lectures* this winter, they did much good. Above all, keep together the band of liberal Christians, and work to free men from the slavery of their Theologies. We shall have some tracts before long, that will suit you well, I think.

"Hannah joins in kindest regards, and believe me,

"Yours ever affectionately,

"HARRY.

"Direct for the future,

"41, St. Vincent Crescent."

"41, St. Vincent Crescent,

"Glasgow.

"My dear Charles,

"Doubtless Gow will have told you of some of our proceedings here, how we are to have a new Church as soon as it can be built—(it will take some 15 months)—and are about to start a small 'Church Magazine,' to announce lectures and meetings, and instil heretical doctrines by short extracts and articles. The more I see of Scotch religious sects and orthodoxy, the more I feel that until they cease to be the mere slaves of Bible Texts, there is no hope of their spiritual freedom. They seem utter slaves of the merest *letter* of Scripture,—fight, text against text,—as though each text were a regular prize fighter,—fling texts in your teeth, as though, if they could not convince you, they would silence you with a regular mouthful of them. They dare not trust mind, conscience, soul, for fear a text of Scripture should be brought against 'em. I fear if I was a heretic before I left Derby, I shall be a double distilled one

now, and preach **XXXX** of heresy, as brewers would say; if I had a tail a yard long when I left, it has grown to a mile, and my cloven feet can scarcely get any shoes to hide them now.

“Have you received a book I told Robertson to send you from me; mind and distribute books and tracts; if you can do nothing else, you can do that; don't be frightened about getting real radical ones into distribution; there is no consistent ground between the inward religion, and dependence on the external authority of a Book. We must be either Bible slaves, or free men.

“The Bible is great, but a man's conscience and soul are also to be respected, and we cannot believe what is unreasonable and unjust, though a hundred texts support it.

“The tracts for the Times are nearly out of print, but there are some still to be had, if you could get rid of any.

“I hope soon to have a say on these matters in Derby.

“We still find the people right down hospitable and kind, and are getting at home with them, but I often turn a thought to the dear friends like you, we have left behind.

“We shall be very glad indeed to see you, whenever you can come to Glasgow.

“I hope when I come (and by the way, tell Mr. Hirst I'm expecting to hear from him on this; that I may make my arrangements here suit) to manage

to see in operation some active work on behalf of liberal religion. I am sure something unshackled might be contrived, if you set your wits to work about it.

"Hannah sends her kindest regards, and does not expect to see you *alone* in Glasgow.

"Yours ever faithfully,

"The Devil Himself.

"A Merry Christmas, and a Happy New Year."

"41, St. Vincent Crescent.

"My dear Charles,

"I have been expecting a letter from you for the last century and a half, but you keep as dumb as the pyramids. I suppose you are busy manufacturing golden ingots in that mill of yours, but I want your account of how things stand in Chapel and Institute, and I want a word from an old friend like you. How is it your name does not occur in the Ward Elections? you are as fit for the Council as friend Spurgeon any day; don't let this omission be another year.

"I am gradually getting into harness here. On Monday, I begin a course of three lectures, in explanation of the principles of our Church, at a Mechanics' Institute. We intend to hold such meetings, in different parts of the town.

"We have divided the town into 12 districts, with an elder in each to assist me in visiting therein and to serve as a medium of communication,

between the members in the district. I have also one evening a week, for the congregation to visit us at home, sending circulars of invitation, to batches of a dozen at a time. My health is better than it has been for a long time, so that I hope to be able to do some hard work, ere the winter is over, without detriment.

"Many thanks for the 'Reporter'; shall I return them? I could send them back the day after receipt, if that would be any use to any one. I also get them on the Monday.

"I shall be glad indeed to see you all again, when a lecture is arranged. When shall we see you in our Northern Home? A friend's hearty welcome awaits you.

"Yours ever,  
"HARRY."

Mr. Crosskey entered on his second charge on the first Sunday of October, 1852. He and his people appear forthwith to have issued the following proclamation of principle which, while not inconsistent with the original constitution of their Church, placed upon it the broadest and most liberal construction.

"THIS Church recognises the eternal inspiration of the human soul, and seeks living intercourse with the living God as the basis of religion.

"It proclaims that the true religion necessitates

a religious life, and that the religious life is perfect when no discord exists between human desire and divine law:

“It would unite the due culture of the religious affections with a calm and grateful exercise of the intellect; and, not attempting to bind in finite creeds the infinite wisdom of God, looks forward to constant advancement in the understanding of His Word.

“It has faith in the progressive development of the human race throughout time, and of the human being throughout eternity.

“In a word, this Church believes in a living God and the inspiration of His Spirit, and demands a holy life as the consummation of its religious faith; it would promote mental action, and has unbounded confidence in the divine destiny of humanity.

“Believing these principles—the principles taught by Jesus Christ, and realised in his life—to be of vital importance to society, this Church appeals to all sympathizing with them—whether they have a nominal connection with some religious body which has not their heart, or whether they stand aloof from all sects—to aid in their diffusion and practical application.”

Mrs. Roger Smyth, whose girlhood was passed under Mr. Crosskey's ministry at Glasgow, sends me a vivid picture of that ministry—the young man, ardent, devoted, full of courage and passion-



ate liberalism, holding his Church as a citadel in the midst of the dominant Calvinism, and while ready to meet with tongue or pen antagonists of all degrees, winning the love and loyalty, and moulding the faith and character, of the little band of heretics who had called him to be their teacher. Let me present the reader with some paragraphs from her graphic sketch.

“To write all I feel about him,” she says, “would be a bit of autobiography, for he coloured and influenced all my young life. Whatever I have of love of truth, of reverence for right, of aspiration towards what is highest and best, I owe to him. And more than that, more than I can tell, for his influence over me, as over the other young people of his Glasgow congregation, was far more than didactic, it was magnetic; he not only directly taught us, but touched the very sources of thought and emotion. At the time when Mr. Crosskey became minister of the Glasgow Church, it was completely isolated from all the religious life of the city. Not one of my own uncles or aunts, or of their families would have entered the walls: and that no special disaster from storm or bolt levelled it to the ground was, to the ultra-orthodox, a sign, more of an accumulation of penalties reserved for the hereafter, than any token of the shortening of the arm of the Almighty.

“Well, we didn’t mind this a bit; we were not ‘a penny the worse,’ but it drew us all close together:

—the minister, the minister's wife and family, and the whole congregation were united in a common bond, all the stronger that we were a separate people.”

“*We* never missed a Sunday, unless from illness, or some unusual stress of weather; rain, of course, made no difference. Our elders were interested on points of theological controversy; *we* saw and heard Mr. Crosskey. I remember, when I was very little, wondering whether Mr. Crosskey was really Jesus, or only very like him;—I knew he must be *very like him*.”

“Owing to our Church being so isolated, our Sunday School was entirely confined to the children of the congregation. It consisted of a Children's Service, held by Mr. Crosskey in the Church, shortly after morning service, followed by classes. We used a service-book with responses and hymns, compiled by Mr. Crosskey; his Catechism of Religion was also written for the Glasgow Sunday School. Will time ever efface the memory of those happy Sunday afternoons;—of the beloved face and voice, the fervent prayer, the tender, delicate delineations of truth and goodness, the reverent air and tone? We were indeed early led in paths of peace! We were a wonderfully sociable congregation, we had congregational teas, teachers' teas, Sunday School teas, social meetings of all kinds; and if any one wished to see Mr. Crosskey in his glory, he

had only to come to one of these, say a Sunday School tea. What fun we had; games, dancing, romps of all kinds; and our minister was the life of it all, like a boy among boys."

"Looking back on what we owe him, I see a childhood filled with love and reverence, freed alike from vulgar and superstitious fears of an angry and revengeful God, and a material hell, and the unnatural cant of infantile conversion. We were taught to nobly trust the Great Maker of Heaven and Earth, and to love and imitate the beautiful life of the Lord Jesus."

I may perhaps add here the testimony of Mr. Walter Baynham, though that gentleman's acquaintance with Mr. Crosskey did not begin till he had already been nine years minister of the Glasgow Church.

Mr. Baynham writes to me :—

"I first met Dr. Crosskey at the close of the year 1861. I was then an actor and stage manager of the Theatre Royal, Glasgow. A fellow actor, who was a great theologian, had attended the chapel in St. Vincent Street, and had persuaded me to accompany him : feeling sure that the preaching of—then—Mr. Crosskey could remove many a dogmatic cobweb, and strengthen the strivings after a higher life. The scene rises vividly to my mind of that autumn Sunday evening of thirty-three years ago. The portrait of the clearly chiselled features, refined

contour of visage, the handsome face fringed by the dark beard, has lost none of its colours in my mind. His appearance, then in his prime, was singularly spirituelle. His first prayer seemed characterised by a reserved earnestness, that to me appeared sublime."

"I well remember accompanying him once to a spiritualistic Sceance, to which he and I were invited, to test its genuineness, and I recollect how firmly he declined to open the meeting with prayer,—lest the whole thing should turn out a mockery. We never went there again. To many persons his shyness was mistaken for reserve and pride, but a man more gifted with true manly meekness never lived. No man ever entered more fully into literary humour, or enjoyed more heartily a social harmless jest; whilst the purity of his conversation, his stainless life, his uprightness, fearlessness, his devotion as a husband to his devoted wife, and self-denying fondness for his children won over even the stoniest and most orthodox of Free Kirk ministers, who had always at least a respectful welcome for him, when on civic affairs, he with them was called to the platform. I can remember once debating with a singularly narrow-minded minister of the 'old line of thought,' who was ruthlessly sweeping all who differed in opinion with him into—'the shades,' and, referring to Dr. Crosskey, I asked him if he thought he would be

included in the general clearance. The minister paused, stroked his chin, scratched his head, and then answered thoughtfully, 'Weel, ye see Maister Crosskey is jist an exception to the rule.'"

"I cannot remember his ever having said an unkind word of anyone. I can recall his opinion of Swendenborg, for whose writings despite the Seer's denunciation of Socinians, Dr. Crosskey had a great respect. 'Swedenborg,' he said, with his genial chuckle, 'sent *us* all to Hell, but his heart was better than his head, for he writes also that those who are willing to learn in the next life, will have their opinions altered. So he gives even *us* a chance, after all.'"

"To me, in his life, character, and loving teachings, he realised more of 'THE MASTER' than any one I have ever, or can ever hope to meet."

The congregation steadily increased under this earnest ministry. In 1856 the society moved into the new church in St. Vincent Street—a handsome building, purely Grecian in design, but better adapted for preaching and lecturing purposes than a structure more ecclesiastical. "As a rule," Dr. Crosskey records in the "Personal Memoranda," "the morning service was made devotional and practical and *not* controversial. To deepen reverence and cherish the sanctities of the religious life, apart from the discussion of controverted creeds, were its ends and aims. After the morning service, a Sun-

day School service for children was held. In the evening, any and every question having a religious interest was taken as a subject for a lecture, and the frankest and freest treatment of *controversial* topics I could give, was presented without reserve or hesitation. Expositions were given, for example, of Colenso's and Darwin's work when they were at the height of their unpopularity in Scotland."

The breadth and vigour of these Sunday evening lectures will best be gathered by two or three paragraphs selected from those which have been preserved.

In introducing a course on "Remarkable Men Lately Deceased" (among them were Macaulay, Leigh Hunt, George Combe, Humboldt and Washington Irving), the preacher said:

"My brethren, let us not dishonour God by confining His influence and His agency to a few technical subjects, and to the members of one solitary profession. There is no one who can honour more than I do the office of a minister of religion, but ministers are not justified in claiming the monopoly of God's universal Spirit. The Holy Spirit of the Most High God may dwell with the statesman, the orator, the historian, the poet, the humourist, as perfectly as with the noblest clergyman. A great history may be as grand a revelation of the will of God as the finest sermon ever uttered. A manly speech in defence of human liberty may

be a service as truly religious as any upon which a Sabbath sun has shone in earthly temple. A happy book, making life more cheerful, may be as welcome to God as a chanted Psalm. A sweet song or a beautiful painting may be as divine an achievement as the emendation of a text. Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights, with whom there is no variableness or shadow of turning."

Further on he proceeded:

"Whosoever makes life more beautiful, more happy, more free, more genial, more thoughtful, and more wise, is a true servant of the God of love. God is love! and, therefore, whosoever makes life more blessed—more lovely—more divine—more joyful, is a true minister of His will. The writer of a great history—the thinker of a happy thought—the discoverer of a scientific fact—the author of a genial tale, may really bless his brethren, serve God as much as he could do by preaching a sermon or singing a hymn. By these discourses upon remarkable men lately deceased, I would rebuke the poor narrowness that recognises a servant of God in a devotee of theologic technicalities, but undervalues as a merely secular author the writer of a great book, or the statesman-advocate of human freedom. By these discourses I preach the Lord God, author of every good and perfect gift: and, following the Spirit of Christ, recognise

His servant in whosoever renders more wise, more genial, more blessed, the daily lives of His children."

Again, lecturing on so ticklish a topic among the canny Scots of the great city as "Commercial Morality," he exclaimed:

"Put not your trust in lies! Morally, I do not think those men innocent who have conducted trade upon this basis. A pistol and a false key are not the only instruments of robbery. And, it seems to me that any man who obtains from another, by means of a form of words or speech, what he would not have received were the plain truth known, is morally dishonest. There is the slightest possible moral difference between a lie in the face and a pistol at the throat."

When a "day of humiliation" was proclaimed by way of rectifying our misadventures in the Crimean War, Mr. Crosskey had scathing rebuke for the materialism and hypocrisy of the remedy. He noted the futility of the expedient in former national disasters. It had been tried in the days of famine; but famine was not abated till the Corn Laws were repealed. It had been tried as a bar to the progress of the cholera; but the cholera had not retired till filth was removed and streets were cleansed. And now were they to look to prayers to make their troops grow strong on green coffee or their wounded recover in hospitals swarming with vermin? The whole discourse is one vehement



protest now ironic, now prophetic, throughout impassioned. The preacher concluded with words well calculated to strike home to the Scottish intelligence and conscience :

“ Supposing the great mass of people wise enough to see their sins, let them beware trusting to their penitence for their salvation. The cry of penitence may arise without the slightest love of righteous government, simply because the punishment is painful. A thief may be very sorry for having committed theft when in jail, but out of jail may go on in the same path. This nation may repent of its sins, because it has not victory as soon as it wished ; but its desire for a nobler system of rule may yet be no intenser ! The cry of penitence itself will do nothing. Let the misrule of routine and favouritism abide in the State, and our Church-going days of humiliation shall be less than dust in the balance. There is no cheating the Lord God Almighty ; His law broken, days, years of humiliation will not avert His judgment ; nay, His indignation shall become but the more intense. No spectacle could be more deserving the scorn of earth, and the indignation of Heaven, than that of a great nation praying the Almighty to avert His punishment, and making no earnest effort to remove the system of misrule from which His every judgment sprang. Such a spectacle may this great nation never be ! May it learn betimes the lesson, that only in

obedience to Divine laws is Divine mercy ever found ! To many of us this our day of humiliation seems to have been answered in the time of Isaiah : ' Your new moons and appointed feasts my soul hateth ; they are a trouble unto me ; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands I will hide mine eyes : your hands are full of blood (yea, the blood of heroes !) Wash you ! make you clean ; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes.' "

In conjunction with the Rev. R. B. Drummond, of Edinburgh, Mr. Crosskey revived the Scottish Christian Unitarian Association. At the annual Soirée of that Society held at Glasgow in the autumn of the year 1864, advantage was taken of the presence of so many friends to present to him an address from members of his own congregation and others not of his household of faith, together with a purse of four hundred sovereigns. This presentation was a recognition of his faithful work and noble spirit. " Twelve years ago," said the speaker selected to make the presentation, " you came to us a comparatively poor and struggling congregation. You earnestly addressed yourself to the upbuilding of the Church. You were misunderstood by some friends and misrepresented by others. You have nobly lived down misrepresentation." The speech in which Mr. Crosskey acknowledged the presentation and reviewed his

Glasgow ministry, so admirably reflects the man himself in the prime of life—he was now thirty-eight years old—that I transcribe it unabridged.

Mr. Crosskey said : “ I know not in what language to express my deep feeling of the love of which this gift is the outward offering, but I only know this one thing, that it is the love which I value, and that I receive the gift because of the affection which seems embodied in it, and which in itself is a sufficient ending of a life of labour rather than the crown of my maturer manhood. I receive it for the love that has now been expressed. Twelve years ago, when I came to this city with no known friend within it, in the first month of my married life, coming here a young man with a beloved young man's bride, I knew there was before me hard labour, I knew that there was before me an unfamiliar country and an unfamiliar people. But I never dreamt that my imperfect and trembling efforts could secure in so brief a time as this now seems to me such a return of faithful love. I accept your gift, then—I accept the affection, I would say, rather than the gift—I accept it for the sake of those near and dear to me ; for this one thing I can say, that without a happy home you would never have had from me even the poor efforts you have had, for the root of my life has been my home, and there also the fountain of my deepest faith—(cheers). I accept it with something of pride, too, since among

those who have thus honoured me are those who in manliness differ from the Gospel which we preach—as assurance that within this city a man can be true to himself and differ from the community around, and at the same time not forfeit their respect, and receive their love—(cheers). And yet a certain sadness comes upon me as I accept your gift, and I feel that I could better face misunderstanding, I could better face antagonism than I can face you to-night—(applause). It is easy to have “the peace that passeth all understanding” then, but to bear kindness is a harder thing, for it makes a man ashamed of his own unfaithfulness. I can only see the lofty ideal which I would achieve and contrast it with the trembling step. I can only think how much better I would have done, and how all things seem insufficient; but then I think that at least my labour has won your love. As I look back I cannot tell how it has grown to this, for I can truly say that I have cultivated no art of popular applause—(cheers). I know not how it has grown to this, only that it has happened to me in God’s gracious mercy, even as his love is bestowed upon us beyond all merit on him who has it. There are simply one or two thoughts that I can collect myself enough to speak upon to-night. I have faced many a meeting in this city but never stammered as I do to-night—(cheers). Personally there is one thing, and that is, I trust and hope you have found me a

friend in many senses of the word. I am not conscious of ever permitting private taste, private inclination, private liking or disliking, to interfere with my feeling towards the meanest or the richest among you. I have tried in simplicity of heart to be the friend of every one of you, to understand you generously, to let you know that in your minister you could find a man who would always judge you in the highest and noblest sense, who would always put the best interpretation on every word, and every deed of yours, and who, not as a duty, but through the simple tendency of his mind, thus worked with you, a fellow pilgrim in this strange world, striving to place before you such high ideal of Christian faith as he could poorly offer, and receiving from you more than he could give—(cheers). And so, too, with regard to those differing in religious opinions, while obliged to place an antagonistic thought in its, as I believe, just position before them, I have aimed at never speaking with scorn of any good man's faith, of honouring reverent worship hid within the strangest creeds, seeking out their deeper heart of faithfulness—(applause). And one other thing, I have endeavoured, but very feebly, to serve that which was above myself, above us all, to subordinate to this mighty truth above us, private thought, private desire, to feel it. I have endeavoured not to be troubled with long waiting, not to be disturbed by

the flow of popular favour or disfavour, but simply to work and act, paying quiet testimony to such gospel as the spirit of our Heavenly Father had written in my heart, and therefore speaking to you naturally and quietly, letting truth have its own way, and bring forth its own fruit. My labour has thus been a worship, and during the experience of years I have felt that we are one family before God. In thus accepting the love of which this gift is the outward sign, I have most briefly and most unwillingly dwelt upon personal things, for indeed within the last few days I have had a strange impulse upon me to flee away to the mountains and hide myself in some solitary place, for I have hardly had the heart to face your love. Having now thanked you, I will speak of that in which we are brethren, and the great purposes and aims of my ministrations amongst you. And has not this been the end of every prayer, the end of every desire, to build you up in the true love of God, to preach His unfailing tenderness, His all-boundless mercy, so that, when amid the mountains of this beautiful land communing with nature, you might feel the spell of His tender love, that in the joys and sorrows so manifold of our common experience His everlasting arm would be around you, that in every path of life, in business, in our homes, this love must be our unfailing sustaining strength—(applause). My aim at least has been to awaken you to a sense of

this love, and to bring loving hearts to the loving God. And, brethren, through all these many years I cannot but think, as I receive this to-night, and see so many known faces here around me, of those who in the ripeness of their years have been taken away from us. My early friends within this city, and the elders in the church,—surely I feel their spirits ever near and their memories ever blessed. I cannot but think, too, that there are many amongst you then young and now growing to manhood and womanhood, and it is the wish of my heart that as the minister and friend of their childhood I may also be the friend of their maturer years. I now look forward to a hopeful future, considering that this night begins almost a new life between us, for I have thought that you might have wearied of an accustomed tongue, and that it would be hard for me to minister over these many years to one people with only very occasional changes in the visits of friends from long distances. I receive this gift, then, as an earnest and token of the fact that you have not tired of my ministrations, that my familiar speech is not unwelcome, and that instead of wearying, you hear in that familiar speech and that accustomed sound of voice the welcome accents of an old friend—(loud applause). I have spoken with most trembling speech; every thought seems to have vanished from me, and I can only conclude with this one word, that there is no love which a

minister can bear his people that I do not bear to you, that you cannot see or know all the watchfulness and anxious care with which my heart stretches out towards you, that you do not know the anxious thoughts, the longing desires that go forth into you ; but you may know and believe that the affection you have shown in this sign of your love is more than returned, that there is no love you can bear me greater than that I bear to you—(applause). So, again, my heartfelt thanks to those others not within the family of our Church who have expressed, at least the possibility of differing from us and, at the same time, differing with manliness and respect—(loud applause)."

The minister who at Derby had never forgotten that he was a citizen of England and of the world, lost none of his enthusiasm for public justice and popular reform whilst resident in higher latitudes. He records that he took part in the agitation for the extension of the suffrage and other liberal reforms of the day. The preparation of the resolutions to be submitted to great public meetings on these topics was often confided to him. He advocated Woman's Suffrage at a time when that great policy of justice was far more unpopular than it is to-day. In Glasgow, too, he did much in that sacred cause for which in Birmingham he was to do much more, the education of the people. He ably and earnestly seconded the labours of his



friend, Dr. Nichol, in connexion with the Glasgow Public School Association. The Association aimed at confining all rate-paid education to the secular sphere, giving accredited religious teachers of all denominations equal opportunity of supplementing secular with religious instruction. Needless to say that such a programme was far from acceptable to Presbyterian Scotland, and that the young minister's identification with it by no means promoted his popularity. But his position as an educationalist was so far recognised, that he was examined before a Royal Commission on Scotch Education on behalf of the Unitarians.

These were the days in which the souls of the Quakers and the Unitarians of Great Britain were profoundly stirred by the iniquities of American Slavery. Mr. Crosskey's pulpit was again and again thrown open to the abolitionists from America who visited this country. He met William Lloyd Garrison—the Luther of the movement—several times, and was profoundly impressed by the moral grandeur of his character.

If in ecclesiastical matters Mr. Crosskey found more foes than friends in Glasgow, in the agitation for Italian independence the city was with him heart and soul. For the agents of Mazzini and Garibaldi considerable sums of money were locally collected. Jessie White Mario was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Crosskey and lectured at the Unitarian

Church. Saffi, also, one of the Triumvirs during the siege of Rome, enjoyed their hospitality. Mr. Crosskey probably inspired, if he did not write, the following address to Garibaldi. At any rate it was he who was chosen to move it at a meeting of working men held in "Bell's Coffee House."

TO GENERAL GARIBALDI.

"Sir,—We the undersigned, being chiefly working men of Glasgow, and of Scotland, desire to convey to you the accompanying offering—poor in comparison to our wishes, rich, if measured by our sympathies—as a slight testimony of our watchful, hearty, and intense interest in that glorious struggle for a free Italy, of which you are the illustrious chief; and of our unshaken confidence in yourself personally, not only as great in courage and devotion, but also in discretion and judgment.

"In the circumstances in which you are placed, we feel that great deeds can only be achieved by those who break the bondage of diplomatic restraints, and that the most fearless daring may be the most consummate prudence. We, therefore, place no conditions upon the acceptance of our gift; and our only hope and prayer is, that you will not withhold your hand whenever and wherever, according to your wisdom, a blow can be struck upon Italian soil for freedom, humanity, and God.

"Our Government, in times past, has been entangled with the diplomacy of despots—we,

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to-day, would speak, heart to heart—a people to a people.

“We love freedom, and have experienced its blessings and its glory. What we so dearly love we desire that all nations should possess. Our prayer for Italy is therefore, that she should be free—one and indivisible—a nation among nations—the slave neither of priests nor foreigners.

“Through you, General, we would say to the Italians you lead—‘Brethren! Relax no effort while a foreigner is lord south of the Alps—while any sectional dynasty erects a throne upon dungeons, and recognises cruelty as its only law—while any priest asserts himself master of the bodies as well as the souls of men. Our hearts are with you. Our ancestors fought the same great battle which you now fight; be faithful as they were, that your children may enter upon the same sacred inheritance of liberty.’

“We speak plainly, for the rights of nations have been too often hidden from sight within a labyrinth of words. Italy, without any Austrian province within its boundaries—the kingdom of Naples without a tyrant—the Papal States without a civil despotism in the disguise of a spiritual authority—Italy one free nation; self-organised, self-governed, subject to its own will, and not to any other existing earthly Power,—such are the aspirations we associate with the name of Garibaldi.

"What business, some may ask, have we, as British subjects, to address you, the leader of a struggle in a foreign land? Our reply is that we believe selfishness in politics to be as immoral as selfishness in personal conduct, and that a free country like our own has both social, moral, commercial and religious interests in freedom the wide world through.

"The freedom of one land is a blessing to all others in that increase of commerce, learning, art, and civilisation in every form, which is the inevitable result of wise laws administered in justice.

"But beyond all these considerations, our hearts are human, and therefore cannot but bleed for the down-trodden. Had we no sympathy for your cause, we should be without feeling for the worst agonies man can inflict on man.

"General, in again rendering you our heartiest greeting, and such material aid as our means permit, we pray that you may live to see the day when the peace of equal justice shall supersede the epoch of troubled strife, and your beloved land prove itself not unworthy of its martyrs, and the glory of its past be but the shadow of the brighter glory of its future."

Louis Blanc frequently visited the Crosskeys and was much charmed with their gifted son "Leo," whose early death was to be the greatest grief of his father's life.

As specimens of Mr. Crosskey's platform oratory at this time, I select the peroration of a speech delivered at an immense public meeting, in January, 1855, convened "to consider the conduct of the [Russian] war in its relation to the liberties of the Continent; and especially the re-establishment of Poland, as the only safe guarantee for the future peace and welfare of Europe;" and also a short, but noble passage in a speech delivered before 5,000 persons in congratulation on the accession of Mr. Gladstone to the Premiership, in 1868.

On the former occasion, Mr. Crosskey said :

"Let the people of this country declare that their policy henceforth will be to take every just opportunity of cherishing nations. Let it declare that it cares nothing for a war of Hapsburgs and Coburgs, and nothing for a war that shall not secure peace by protecting some outraged nationality. I know the charges readily brought against those who speak of nationalities. What! would we deluge Europe with blood? is the ready cry. Nay, we ask which party has shed the most wanton blood—the Kings and Emperors or the people? No red republican ever shed what Austria shed in Hungary, or Russia in Poland! Would we promote disorder? It needs to be known that in God's Universe there is no lasting order but righteousness. Revolution dogs the heels of the tyrant from the beginning even until the end. (Loud cheering.)

We claim, therefore, that the general policy of Britain should be in favour of nationalities, and that in earnest of that Poland should be recognised, Austria trusted less blindly, and no peace believed in that should leave the same battle to be fought again a few years hence. If any nation of Europe can be redeemed and sent forth in its career of independence, not in vain will this war be fought, not in vain will the Crimea be watered with so much noble blood. To win Europe from the deadly influence of the Czar is worth all that it costs. If we can but show that the issues of this war will be directed to freedom, it will be worth its cost. I say this, knowing all the horrors of the battle-field, and grieving over them with an increasing sadness. I will point out more horrors in the wynds of this town than in the battle-field, and say it would be a horror for Europe as great as the diffusion of lust and ignorance these wynds contain, for Russia to triumph. Tyranny degrades the species; ignorance and lust are its children. (Loud cheers.) Our soldiers do their part; official mismanagement, the hopelessness of rising in rank, fail to daunt them; pestilence, disease, and cold cannot prevail. Be it the part of this nation to watch that their courage and their suffering is not sacrificed for some paltry interest of a dynasty like that of Hapsburg; and that their heroism is not wasted by the weak abandonment of great oppor-

tunities, but made an instrument for establishing a free Europe and a confederation of nations."

At the Liberal demonstration in 1868 Mr. Crosskey thus concluded his address:

"We have heard rumours to the effect that the programme of our party is a dangerous one. There is no danger in simple justice—(cheers). There can be no danger in educating the faculties of man, no danger in giving fair play any more than there is danger in the blessed light of heaven. For years the people have struggled for this. Why, for sentiments such as have been uttered to-night, your ancestors—not remotely, but within the memory of living men—have been put to cruel death within the very bounds of this city. (Hear, hear). The struggle has been carried on in scorn, in sneers, in disappointment, from year to year. It has been a long, a hard, and a lonely struggle, in which a man had to keep a brave heart to stand; but now it has triumphed. We will not be put aside by an idle cry of danger. We have not toiled for years merely to put one set of families in power instead of another. The nation is in power; the nation shall legislate; and free education, free religion, and free scope for manhood shall be the nation's watch-words. (Loud cheers)."

These words of confidence and eager expectation were spoken in 1868. I record them in 1895. How long, O Lord, how long?

Early in 1869, Mr. Crosskey received an invitation to succeed the Rev. Samuel Bache in the pastorate of the Church of the Messiah, at Birmingham. The decision he was called to make was not an easy one. He was minister of an harmonious and growing congregation, the centre of a circle of most faithful friends. By sheer force of intellectual and moral character he had won, not without strenuous toil, a position of wide and important influence. He had become deeply attached to Scotland and interested in her problems, political and religious. Of the bigotry which had at first dogged his steps he had no longer reason personally to complain. He knew that his departure would be deeply mourned. On the other hand, the position of a Unitarian minister at Glasgow was one of great isolation and involved increasing strain on his intellectual strength. He could rarely effect a Sunday's exchange, and continuous preaching to one congregation for more than sixteen years had rendered the reinvigoration of a complete change an almost necessary relief. Great pressure was put upon him by leading English Unitarians to come to Birmingham in the general interest of the Liberal Churches. Mr. Martineau was especially urgent, and his appeal had no little weight with Mr. Crosskey. His young family were growing up. Openings in life for the sons of the heretic minister might be scarce in orthodox Glasgow. His own parents were sinking into the



vale of years, and in their far southern home longed to have their eldest-born within easier reach. Finally a deputation of leading men from the Church of the Messiah (Mr. Timothy Kenrick, Mr. Follett Osler, and Mr. Arthur Chamberlain) so strongly represented to him the peculiar needs and difficulties of the congregation, that he was persuaded that it was his duty, as a minister pledged to serve the cause of Liberal Christianity, to accept the call apart from any personal considerations whatever.

On the 13th of March, 1869, he addressed the following letter to the Glasgow congregation :

“ My dear Friends,

“ After careful and anxious deliberation, I have resolved to accept a very cordial invitation to the Pastorship of the Church of the Messiah, in Birmingham; and, therefore, now resign into your hands the office I have held for upwards of sixteen years. The claims of apparently conflicting duties have filled my mind with perplexity, and I have scarcely known how to determine upon which side the balance ought to incline. Considerations, however, *partly general*, having reference to the future work I may hope to accomplish as a minister of our Christian Church; *partly personal*, of a character necessarily resulting from an extended term of service at one isolated post; and *partly*, touching the welfare of those dearer than self, have pressed

themselves upon me, until I am not able to resist their united power. Should the result disappoint you, my old and long-tried friends, I can only plead that it has been reached through perplexity and pain; and that my mind is unwilling to receive its own verdict, while my heart accepts with grief the very judgment it is unable to condemn.

"I commenced my ministry among you on the first Sunday in October, 1852, and from that day to this, your affection has so unswervingly sustained my life with its faithfulness, that no imperfect services it has been in my power to render can be esteemed an adequate response. Often oppressed with a wearying consciousness of insufficiency, and knowing too well how imperfectly the duties of my office have been discharged, I have yet felt your love and trust constantly deepening as the years have passed; and have dwelt among you, finding a kindly welcome in every home, and supported amid many difficulties by dear friends, whose kindness has only been the better understood the more severely it has been tasked.

"Some who worshipped with us in our early services of prayer and praise, have 'gone before' into the silent land. They have been gained, I feel within my deeper heart, by one and all of us, as everlasting friends; while it is my pride and pleasure to know and love among the younger members of this Church their children, who have continued in

the faith of their fathers, and thus link generation to generation with the bond of a common hope and an abiding joy.

"The ties that have bound us together during the cares and pleasures, the changes and sorrows, the duties and prayers of my lengthened ministry, can never perish. Think of me, as you think of one who may have left your family circle, led by claims of resistless circumstances, but who is still a son among sons, a brother among brothers, and who will find unspeakable delight in revisiting an old home: while you will rejoice, as for your own flesh and blood, should any proud hope with which you send him forth into a distant world of interests, be not altogether uncrowned with the grace of a fair achievement.

"Believe me, now and ever,

"Affectionately yours,

"HENRY W. CROSSKEY."

On receipt of this communication the congregation unanimously passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, that in accepting the resignation of Mr. Crosskey, the members of this congregation desire to record their high appreciation of his zeal, fidelity, and ability; and their admiration of the upright and conscientious manner in which he has conducted himself in all the relations of life during the sixteen years he has been their minister; and

although deeply regretting his loss, they trust that in his new sphere of duty he may succeed in gathering around him, as a congregation, friends as sincerely attached to him as those from whom he is about to part; and that the blessing of God, whose fatherly character he has so frequently and so beautifully described in this place, may continue to rest upon him, and those who are near and dear to him."

Commenting on Mr. Crosskey's departure, *The Glasgow Sentinel* said:—

“ We know we appeal to treasured memories when we mention Mr. Crosskey's name in connection with the crusade against continental despotism, with which Glasgow has been so honourably identified. To all who have taken part in the efforts made to send aid and service to perishing Hungary, to suffering Italy, to the enduring and patient throughout the oppressed nationalities, the council and the stirring words of Mr. Crosskey will remain forgotten. When Glasgow owned no citizen whose fervour could move dull hearts, whose spirit could rouse sacred emotions, whose voice could carry its swift message to the doubting, Mr. Crosskey remained alone its platform champion. In the pulpit, those who worshipped with him had reason to admire his many gifts. On the platform he spoke with a wider power—with a certainty of striking common chords. And it will be testified that but

rarely has the English tongue smitten with a keener touch than did his utterances spoken in behalf of those who lay beneath the hoof of the charger, and under the heel of the priest. When the most sacred of causes was scouted at by our contemporaries as the most Quixotic—when men of influence, of power, of position stood aloof—when those who are spoken of as our guides and our instructors forgot the foremost of their duties, and affected to doubt if religion was identified with morality, Mr. Crosskey never swerved from what he may have had reason to believe was a thankless task. When his own presence was asked for, his help was given in no grudging mood. He cheerfully obeyed any summons. No work was permitted to interfere with advocating the rights of the oppressed, no other duty was paramount to the most sacred of all. Mr. Crosskey never forgot he was a clergyman; but he ever remembered that he held the higher place of a citizen; and how he vindicated his birth-right his sweeping protests could tell."

To this tribute I may add the following interesting memorandum sent to me by Dr. Crosskey's old friend, Professor Young, of Glasgow:

"It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of Dr. Crosskey's services to the Liberal cause in Glasgow. He began his work at a great disadvantage. Ecclesiastical feeling against Socinianism was very strong. An editor told him he

did not think it prudent to be seen walking with him on the public street, and Dr. Crosskey had to yield to this courageous timidity. On the other hand, when he was proposed as a member of the Philosophical Society, his name came up along with that of the late Professor Grant. The rule of the Society was to ballot all names together, and if the whole were rejected to take a vote on each separately. It was proposed to put up Grant and Crosskey separately; but my esteemed friend, Mr. Keddie, Lecturer on Science in the Free Church College, made a vigorous protest against the proposal, a manly and generous proceeding which secured Dr. Crosskey's admission. It was chiefly in connection with the Geological Society that I had to do with him at first. It was a pleasure to work with him, for his energy was great and his love of accuracy remarkable. He took infinite pains to contribute to the discussions and shared in all the work undertaken. The excursions owed much to him for he was indefatigable, while his keen dry humour enlivened the proceedings, and he shrewdly used it to keep up the harmony which even scientific zeal is apt to disturb.

"But his greatest work was in connection with the Education Act. Those who advocated unsectarian education owed him more than the bulk of the party really knew. He was prominent when and only when it was necessary, preferring to keep

in the background, lest he should aggravate the prejudices of those who only half trusted a Unitarian. But the policy of the party was carefully watched over by him, and, a consummate tactician, his influence was felt in all our proceedings. The party was somewhat heterogeneous, only this one common purpose bringing into association men of very different political, social, and religious status. Often did undue zeal threaten to break up plans to which only harmony could give the slightest chance of success. On these occasions Crosskey acted as intermediary and partly by intellectual force, partly by his genial humour, but above all by the straightforward honesty of his purpose, he succeeded in securing co-operation. Even his opponents respected him, and however much they strove to impair his influence by making it appear that it was only the interests of his Church he sought to advance, they had nothing to say against him. Equally valuable were his services to the Liberal party for which he fought continually and successfully. In the education controversy it was remarkable how he often succeeded in disentangling the general policy from the special matter of dispute. Some succeeded in breaking away for a time and making the temporary question the more important, but they were few, nor was this defection lasting. It was almost pathetic to see the cheerfulness with which he began again the task of reconstruction, when hopeful negotiations

almost completed were wrecked. Nothing daunted or depressed him. It was a great loss when he left Glasgow, for no one could succeed him, since he was as familiar and trusted among the working men as he was among professional and eminent men."

At Glasgow all Mr. Crosskey's children, seven in number, were born. Their names were Lewes Richard, Percy William, Lionel, Cecil, Harry, Mabel, and Lilian Maria. These went with him to the city where his name was soon to be a household word, and which was the scene of his most distinguished services to his Church and to his country.







**THE CHURCH OF THE MESSIAH  
BIRMINGHAM**

## CHAPTER V.

### LIFE AND WORK IN BIRMINGHAM.

#### PERSONAL AND PASTORAL.

WE have now to follow Mr. Crosskey to the field of his greatest influence and power, the notable city—characteristically English, perhaps, beyond any other—in which he put forth all the strength of his matured manhood, powerfully affecting the daily life of masses of the people, and even making himself felt in the larger life of the nation.

The position of a Unitarian minister in a great English city is in some respects unique. Ecclesiastically and socially his is apt to be somewhat a lonely figure. Usually a man of considerable culture he finds himself in some degree bereft by his position of the fellowship to which his culture gives him claim. Religiously his whole habit of mind, while holding his own theologically, is to seek points of sympathetic contact with the religious of every sort, from the most orthodox to those whose heterodoxy far outstrips his own. The brothers Newman, the one the leader and incarnation of the great Anglican movement of the century towards







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the Roman cult, the other the apotheosis of intellectual individualism in matters of the spirit, both probably occupy niches in his pantheon; and while intellectually aloof from the popular theology of the evangelical sects and vigorously protesting against their too frequent subordination of character to creed, his heart beats in warm response to all that is best in their view of life. Yet he finds himself an outcast from religious fellowship, and neither Catholic, nor Anglican, nor Evangelical will hold with him any communication of the spirit.

Cut off thus from the comradeship of those who hold religion the foremost element of life, he turns to the intellectual life around him. He has shared the intellectual movement of his time. The great names of the century in the world of thought are his household words. The great books of the age are on his shelves and have penetrated his thinking. There is in all the realm of literature and science no teacher whose name he dreads, for he worships the Spirit of truth, and can have no fear of the outcome of honest thinking. The timid temper of the theologian, who would silence the asker of awkward questions, is alien to his whole mind and soul. He is the eager student, according to his measure, of all who speak from knowledge and with power. Surely then, in every great city there must be high fellowship for him. Not so. The teachers who have severed themselves from

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ecclesiastical connection regard him as the hierophant of an eccentric sect, a man given over to theological dogma, and they pass him by.

Thus, conscious within himself of spiritual and intellectual sympathy with all that is best around him, he finds himself misunderstood and mistrusted, with his way to carve for himself, unhelped by his position towards any influence outside the narrow borders of his own congregation.

Thus far ecclesiastically and intellectually: and socially? Socially the Unitarian minister in a great city usually finds himself welcomed at once into a circle, very pleasant, but very small,—the circle, namely, of his own congregation. But to "Society" he is absolutely unknown. Social prejudice shuts out the Dissenter, theological the Unitarian. And so the problem at the start is this: How to keep the sympathies wide and sweet, the intellectual life broad and unpedantic, the whole temper and conduct of life manly and unembittered, amidst an environment that tends to cramp and restrict in the manner I have indicated.

The Unitarian minister has, indeed, compensations that make up, and to his own mind probably more than make up, for all the limitations I have noted. He has the free and unrestrained companionship of all the thinkers in every sphere of human thought whom he cares to study, absolutely without fear of consequences. He knows that he can never have

to accommodate his thinking or his speaking to his position, for the one contract he is under to his people is to think and speak the very truest that he knows how. He has every day of his life the sustaining sense of this pure and perfect liberty. The pursuit of truth for its own sake becomes to him a passion. His ecclesiastical position is one that he can maintain with unfailing self-respect. And he knows himself the heir of all the ages in the building up of his thought concerning Man, the Universe and God.

The above account is then no plea *ad misericordiam*. The Unitarian minister in a great English city neither asks nor requires pity. But his life cannot be sympathetically understood unless it be borne in mind, that on entering on his task the difficulties I have enumerated confront him. If it be found that, after he has dwelt and laboured in the great city a few years, he has to some extent broken them down or overcome them, that is proof, not that these difficulties were not real and solid, but that he was a man strong in intellect, in character, in perseverance, and in purpose. The conquest achieved measures the force of his personality.

That Mr. Crosskey, during his Birmingham ministry, largely triumphed over the obstacles which I have enumerated will be obvious to the reader of the ensuing pages. That at the outset he

was conscious of them, and keenly conscious, I cannot doubt. What were the characteristics in the strength of which he conquered?

His bent was rather practical than philosophical. But he was not without philosophy. Without wide philosophical reading, his mind instinctively seized and occupied the positions distinctive of the stronger thinkers of his time. Though perhaps he rarely enunciated even to himself any all-embracing formula, he was penetrated by that imperious demand for unity and self-consistency in the intellectual interpretation of the universe which is at the root alike of the theological and the political radicalism of our time. He could not, with some theologians and some politicians, divide his mind out into water-tight compartments, and leave his social gospel unaffected by his theological creed, or his confession of faith uninfluenced by his enthusiasm for practical reform. Aspiration, thought, and conduct were with him necessarily correlative. God, Man, the World,—Religion, Politics, Philanthropy,—had all to be brought under a common synthesis, and that synthesis had to be consistent in every part. His fine "enthusiasm of humanity" flowed directly from his faith in God. His love of God gained fervour from his love of Man. The Divine Father and the Human Brother could not be dissociated in his thought or his emotion.

Still less could his thinking itself accept in different departments methods inconsistent with each other. If in the realm of physical science he found law and order, harmony and unity everywhere pervasive, he accepted unity, harmony, order, law, as belonging to the method of God throughout the spiritual universe no less than the material. Literatures, races, individual teachers he might discover, which transcended all competitions in inspiration or in genius. But it was not competent to his make of mind to think that one literature, or one tribe, or one prophet stood apart from all others without kinship or likeness to them. He conceived, and could not help conceiving, them all as subject to the same order, moving under the same laws, in the same essential relation to God. This meant no depreciation of an Isaiah or a Paul any more than it meant a depreciation of a Socrates or a Plato, of a Newton or a Darwin. It meant no depreciation of the Christian Scriptures, any more than it meant a depreciation of the Elizabethan literature. It only meant a more sane, a more truly sympathetic and understanding appreciation of all literatures and all teachers, and especially of those who by their inherent quality have asserted themselves as sacred in the eyes of the most enlightened races and individuals of mankind. Hence for him much of the accepted doctrine alike of the common Protestant theology and of the "orthodox" Unit-

arianism of a generation ago was simply impossible. It dissolved the moment he steadily fixed his gaze on it. It crumbled to dust the moment he took it in his hand. Hence in theology Theodore Parker and Francis Newman, in criticism Colenso, in politics Mazzini, in science Darwin, with their large and comprehensive syntheses, their passion for unity of conception in their several spheres, had only to speak and he was necessarily their disciple in all that was most essential and characteristic in their thought. Hence the "storm and stress" of his Glasgow life: hence also the ultimate strength and power of his utterance in pulpit and on platform at Birmingham.

My own first personal acquaintance with Mr. Crosskey was in the early days of his settlement at the Church of the Messiah. I had myself almost simultaneously become minister of the High Pavement Chapel at Nottingham, and Mr. Crosskey came over to some Unitarian gathering in that town. I was more than sixteen years his junior, a mere beginner in a field in which he had already won high and wide distinction. It was not without awe that I went to meet him at the station, and I well remember how in ten minutes he placed me on a footing of easy *camaraderie*. When the day was over, I felt that here was a leader whom it would always be a joy to follow, a man strong and brave, devoted to the things to which I was devoted,

experienced, sagacious, powerful to move men, prompt and sure in discerning the true issues of a practical problem regarded from the highest point of view,—a man to be consulted, trusted, followed with confidence that his lead would make for the wisest, the broadest, and the best. It was my good fortune in after years often to be allied with him in struggles for freedom, truth and righteousness; and my feeling never faded that he was the ideal leader and comrade, where service was to be done in the cause of liberty and true religion.

But it was mainly as a combatant that I knew him,—a combatant against all intolerance and all injustice. I recall his face and figure most vividly either in the confidential planning of a campaign or in the hour of battle for some high principle that seemed in peril of violation. I see his figure dilating with the ardour of the conflict, his masculine face lit up with the enthusiasm of his cause. I hear the vibrant tones in which he tore to shreds a sophistry, the more solemn and appealing accents in which he enunciated a lofty and comprehensive principle. I feel the tremor of emotion that would pass through a thronged assembly as the power of his pleading stirred it like a salt sea breeze. That is the Crosskey that I best recall, and it is a personality that fills a commanding place in the gallery of my memory.

But I have also—more rarely—seen him, as probably his congregation knew him best, when

his countenance was suffused with a tender spiritual light and the strong man was as a little child,—when he spoke of the Father, of the Christ, of the gentle love that should prevail among men, and the Spirit of God seemed to be on him and he to have been caught up into that heaven, where the Spirit whispers to the listening soul unutterable things. And I was prepared for the touching testimony which so many have rendered to me that in his pastorate he would penetrate to the very souls of such as were in the straits of a great sorrow, or were adrift on the dark and dreary sea of doubt.

I think that there have been few men in the thorough knowing of whom there were so many distinct stages. There was the outer court, the court of the Gentiles, and the inmost sanctuary, the holy of holies; and between these there were, so to speak, many successive chambers of approach. To a great multitude he was known, as I have described him, simply as "the strong combatant for the right," the "hater and scorner of the wrong,"—that, both in the affairs of his religious denomination and in the wider arena of national politics. And it is likely that many who had received this impression could imagine little of what would be revealed, if they had opportunities of nearer knowledge. But when men met him for the first time in private society, the shyness which is so common a characteristic of

the strong men whose platform manner shows no trace of such shrinking, often presented a bar that seemed to forbid all closer approach; and persons with whose inner life he was in reality in perfect harmony, frequently found him cold, unsympathetic, as one who lived and moved in a region afar off. But as increasing intimacy wore the encasing shyness away, the bright, quick intellect revealed itself, the shrewd criticism, the glance of wit, and by and by, in a holiday mood, the boisterous fun and frolic which peep out in some of the letters which this volume will contain. Still over the inner shrine hung the veil, which might not be lightly lifted. But if you were in deep sorrow or sore difficulty how to steer the voyage of life, then was revealed the sweet sympathetic nature, infinitely tender, helpful, brotherly, the vision of which has led so many of my correspondents to liken him to the Man of Nazareth himself. And so one lady writes to me thus:

"To me, Dr. Crosskey always represented Goodness itself, and no one can ever take his place with me, or help me as he did."

Another, confirming, I think, in several ways the analysis which I have ventured to offer, writes to me:

"Dr. Crosskey was a man who could express his thoughts much better in writing than in speech;—he was too shy and diffident to put his deepest



thoughts into words, even with his intimate friends,—but to see him at his best was when he was on his holiday, enjoying ‘nature’ to his heart’s content. I once spent a delightful ten days with him and some friends, in Auvergne, among the extinct volcanoes. He used to read the country to us like a book, and at the same time *unfold himself*, and was so bright and merry over the various little episodes of travel, and then again so silent, and full of reverence before the grandeur and loveliness of the various scenes, that I felt as if I gained more knowledge of him in that short holiday than I had ever done in the twenty years I had known him:—and from that time I felt our friendship was much closer, and when he passed away the world seemed very empty.”

Another, who owed him much, bears this grateful testimony :

“I feel that to have known Dr. Crosskey for ten years, and to have been permitted some degree of intimacy with him, is a gift for which I can never be thankful enough. Not only did he (unconsciously) give me immense help in problems of conduct and speculation, but he was a living proof and example that *holiness* and rationalism are not incompatible, as my early training and prejudices had taught me to believe. Truth and honesty had driven me out into what at first looked like a bleak and barren wilderness of negation; I owe it very

largely to Dr. Crosskey that, after a while, the wilderness began to blossom, and in time I found that all the essentials of religion remained, and a freer air and wider horizon had been gained."

She adds:

"A greeting from him would raise one's spirits for the day."

A fourth correspondent writes:

"He could not say anything unkind, *because he had not got it to say.*"

A fifth puts her experience thus:

"I happen to know rather more than many about the feeling he inspired in one or two of my own intimate friends, who had been obliged to give up orthodoxy, and had 'drifted' as so many do, till they were almost hopeless of ever sighting land again. The Doctor's preaching and his prayers were the utmost comfort and help to them, and by degrees brought them to the green pastures and still waters of a deeper faith than they had known before."

A remark made by a member of the evening congregation shows his influence in another way.

"We very often could hardly hear a word of his sermon, and sometimes in coming out, one of us said, 'I wonder why we come, when we cannot hear him,' but we settled that we felt the better for just seeing him. It verily did us good simply to be there."

The Church at Birmingham was at the time that Mr. Crosskey was invited to undertake its pastorate—as it still is—one of the most important and influential in the Unitarian connection. Under the ministry of the Rev. Samuel Bache the congregation had erected and occupied a handsome and spacious building in a commanding situation flanked by commodious schools. The membership was not only very numerous, but comprised many men already eminent in local affairs, and some who were destined to attain national—in at least one case, world-wide—reputation in the realm of politics. It was a Church to which any man might be proud to minister, and its ministry was a post of great honour, great responsibility, and no little difficulty.

When Dr. Martineau heard of the invitation to his old pupil, he at once wrote to him as follows:

“My dear Mr. Crosskey,

“I heard with the greatest interest (from Mr. Chamberlain, Sen.) of the final vote of the Birmingham Congregation.       •       •       •       And when I look at the matter from the more personal point of view, I cannot think that you would find after the pain of transition was over, any reason to regret the change.       •       •       •       I am convinced that, by postponing the frequent treatment of sensitive topics till recent susceptibilities have had time to subside, and going heartily into the practical work and religious preaching of an

earnest ministry, confidence can be securely won all round, without any compromise of conscience or independence. There is at Birmingham a vast and unoccupied field of usefulness, extending all over the Midland Counties, for a minister of tact and good temper, of liberal mind and energetic habits; and it is my sincere belief that a new life for our Churches there would spring up around you. You are also,—it seems to me,—just at the time of life when the advantages of a new start are at the greatest. With considerable accumulated capital of experience and work, available for a fresh post, you have full power of further achievement, and can weed out the raw tentatives, and leave behind all the mistakes, which clog the early years of us all, and can begin, among new people, to live well up to the corrected standard of a ripened mind. I fear you will say that I am acting the advocate rather than the judge. I can only retort,—then why did you ask an opinion from one so interested in the result? I can but give you my real thought.

“Ever faithfully yours,

“JAMES MARTINEAU.”

After much deliberation and careful consideration of all the *pros* and *contras* enumerated in the previous chapter, Mr. Crosskey wrote thus to the chairman of the Birmingham Committee:—

" My dear Dr. Russell,

" After very anxious deliberation, I have resolved to accept the cordial invitation you have forwarded, to become the Pastor of the Congregation assembling in the Church of the Messiah, in Birmingham.

" It neither becomes me to make, nor you to receive, formal professions regarding the future conduct of my ministry. This only will I say : that I am deeply sensible of the solemn responsibilities of the office to which you call me, adorned in the past by Great Names among the Fathers and Confessors of our faith ; and am prepared unreservedly to devote my life to the fulfilment of its duties.

" May the Blessing of Almighty God rest upon minister and people ; and may we dwell together in His holy House in gladness and immortal hope, strengthened unto every good work, and abiding within the Spirit of His Beloved Son.

" Believe me, my dear Dr. Russell,

" Very faithfully yours,

" HENRY W. CROSSKEY."

When Dr. Martineau heard of the decision, he wrote this further note to Mr. Crosskey :—

" My dear Mr. Crosskey,

" I need not say how much I rejoice, on every account except that of the Glasgow congregation, in your decision to accept the Birmingham invitation. I have not a shadow of misgiving about it.

"I venture to predict that your removal to Birmingham will be the turning point into a new era. I should be thankful to see a little way into it, before I quit the field.

"Ever faithfully yours,  
"JAMES MARTINEAU."

Congratulations came from many other quarters, amongst others from the Rev. Charles Voysey, still holding his citadel at Healaugh:—

"Healaugh Vicarage,  
"Tadcaster,  
"June 9, 1869.

"My dear Sir,

"I hope I may heartily congratulate you on your removal from Glasgow to Birmingham, on the ground that the change will be wholly for your own benefit, and for the further spread of your wise and temperate teaching.

"If I regretted anything, I should deplore that your new charge was not a parochial one, in connection with the Church of England; but I live in hopes that there will, before very long, be nothing to prevent your joining our ranks, and occupying our pulpits.

"If some fresh change be not effected in time, the Church, as an Establishment, must fall, and I, for one, shall rejoice in her demolition. I am loyal to

the Church only so long as there is a gleam of hope that she can be thoroughly reformed.

“ With every good wish,

“ Believe me,

“ Most sincerely yours,

“ CHARLES VOYSEY.”

At the domestic life of the minister of the Church of the Messiah we can cast but a passing glance. The Birmingham years saw his own children either called away from mortal vision or growing up into the responsibilities of men and women, and ere he died grandchildren clustered about his knees, and he tasted that peculiar delight which belongs to a relation which repeats so much of the joy and affection of parentage without the daily anxiety of immediate responsibility. His life was strenuous in many ways. He fought hard battles. He spared himself from no exertion. He tasted latterly the bitterness of failing strength, the spirit more than willing for all the old beneficent activity, the flesh alone too weak. But through it all he had his home and the sweet home-love, and he had a congregation who were proud of him, with whom he never had a disagreement, who sought his counsel in all the affairs of the Church, who admitted him to their inmost confidence and friendship, and who extended to him an ever increasing material support as his years accumulated and the calls upon him multiplied.

It is significant of the generous relations of the members of the Church of the Messiah to their minister that, so far from excluding him from their annual business meeting, they always invited and urged his presence on that occasion, and called upon him to address them on congregational affairs, and to unburden himself of all that it might be in his heart to say.

Twice in the course of the Birmingham ministry Mr. and Mrs. Crosskey were called on to suffer the tender anguish, which those only know who watch the death of their child. In the early days of 1871, Harry, their fifth son, who was on the verge of completing his tenth year, was taken from them. A fortnight afterwards Mr. Crosskey preached that infinitely tender sermon "In Loving Memory of Harry Crosskey" which, to my knowledge, has since been a well of comfort to those similarly bereft. Setting at the head of his discourse the beautiful text which explains how "there is no fear in love," in tremulous tones he spoke thus of the scene through which he had passed and the impressions stamped upon his heart:

"To watch the gentle mind, struggling against the frailty of the outworn body, is to have the veil for a moment uplifted and to stand face to face with immortality. As soon as amid falling tears, thought *can* be exercised, it recognises the wondrous witness of the 'spirit' that is not of the 'flesh.'

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The heart beats more and more feebly; its love knows not even the slightest limitation of its overflowing tenderness. The little hand, with a strange chill trembling through its kindly warmth, can scarce return the pressure which would hold it for ever—the clinging of soul to soul is dearer and nearer, nearer and dearer. The sweet lips can with painful difficulty be forced to make a distinct utterance,—gratitude makes itself known through their feebleness with a mightier grace and an unearthly charm.

“At one moment, there is a dear, dear child; thoughtfully loving beyond its years; striving to utter its sweet thanks for the slightest sign of care; planning for others some delicate surprise of love; clear in thought as the fairest of star-lit nights is clear; innocently enjoying the sight of toys he has no strength to touch; dreaming of the country in the spring time; recalling happy days among the mountains; anxious not to trouble those who watch; bright minded and bright hearted; without one solitary shadow of fear or of decay falling upon his unstained being;—the next moment there is a Silence. The flesh has yielded; but the life enshrined within it knew no disease. The little child has upon the instant ceased to give any sign of his dear presence;—*his actual life*, that by which he was a child within an earthly home, never had its strength broken or touched by the feebleness of

his bodily organs; disease had never reached the brightness and the beauty.

\* \* \* \* \*

“Those most marvellous of all marvellous teachings;—those last words of Jesus Christ to his disciples, in which he ministers to their sorrow instead of asking comfort from them—are pervaded by a profound consciousness, a consciousness so profound as to be evidence of a fact, that the life he possesses is in itself the Life Eternal. ‘I am the way; the truth; and the life.’

“Jesus Christ does not accept the doctrine of immortality, as the last result of a curious series of arguments; his own spiritual life is the best witness to the Life Everlasting. With Jesus Christ immortality is not a probable speculation,—it is a reality, the glory of which is actually upon him. There is no place for a suspicion of decay with One who is in the Father and the Father in Him. The sorrow of death is for the disciples; that for a time they will not see him; not for himself; ‘A little while and ye shall not see me; and again a little while and ye shall see me, because I go to the Father.’ \* \* \* ‘And ye now therefore have sorrow, but I will see you again; and your heart shall rejoice and your joy no man taketh from you.’—John XVI. 16-22.

“I am here this day to bear witness, that these things are so. Whoever has watched the gradual

lessening of the body's strength, knows that corruption does not touch the fairness of the soul. Life is itself the proof of life; and in the deep heart of to-day's sorrow is hid the blessed promise of the undying joy.

"The character of every child of God is a fresh creation. Gracious culture is needed to bring out the charm of what God gives, but the actual life given is a fresh thought of the Creator and a new birth upon earth. \* \* \* \*

"The Creator, who could imagine and call into being, the sweet soul of a little child, we cannot fear. \* \* \* \*

"Of all the wondrous works of the Almighty, the creation of men as babes and sucklings is the most wondrous. It is the tenderest of all tender thoughts. It manifests such a delicacy of gentleness, and such a minute regard to the smallest and most playful details of innocent fondness, that, although the darkness is very great, we may venture to take heart, and say,—with the Lord who could imagine and create a little child, its spirit may be confided in untrembling faith and with immortal hope. \* \* \* \*

"Who shall tremble? I know not how, but so it is,—in hours of trial Jesus Christ feels very, very near. We have listened to him as the teacher; and the light of his holy thought has broken over us, as the day-spring from on high; we have loved him for

the beauty of his holiness;—his name has had a charm beyond that of any other, through the blended strength and sweetness of a soul, as rich in human sympathies as in divine sanctities, and as capable of holding tender communion with the spirit that is in man, in all its woes and sins, as of receiving the Spirit of the Most High in its awful purity and peace;—the natural home of our hearts, we have sought within the fold of those holy saints, to whom he has been the Shepherd; but in sorrow there is more than listening reverence, admiring love or confession of discipleship;—there is a strange, deep sense of his personal nearness. The word seems wonderfully fulfilled; ‘Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world;’ and we do not fear to follow the path his steps have trod.”

Happy the people who are privileged to stand by, while even from the depths a human soul thus bears witness to the mighty power of faith in the love of God.

But the sorrow of Mr. Crosskey’s life (by that time Dr. Crosskey) was the death of his third son Lionel. “Leo” was in tenderest sympathy with his father in all for which he cared the most. A lad of brilliant promise, the affectionate sweetness of his nature and the purity of his character rendered him, as he grew into manhood, one of those rare beings who seem to purify and sweeten all human

fellowship, and to link the sinful earth with the sinless land. He was early married and all seemed to augur a life brimful of happiness radiating to all around him, when, in his thirtieth year, he was stricken with fatal illness.

These three short notes despatched in quick succession to "Leo's" nearest and dearest friend, at Cambridge, in that fatal August, 1886, tell their own vivid tale :

1. "Will you please write a line to Leo, here, telling him *anything* of personal interest about yourself, and any old college matters. He is lying here suffering—oh! how sadly; the dear lad can scarcely speak, but smiles when he hears letters of human interest read to him; his great heart is clearly pouring out its tenderness upon all the loving experiences of his gone life; sweet thoughts of all his old friends are with him, and the one thing that seems to bring him peace is to hear about them."

2. "Our dear invalid was able to hear your letter read, and it greatly delighted him, and won from him many a responding smile.

"He suffers less, and sleeps more. In the early morn his bright mind and loving heart pour struggling bright rays through the gathering clouds, but I can say no more. His mind, heart, and soul are alive with all his old noble life, but his poor frail body no mortal skill seems able to relieve."

3. "Our darling Leo has left us. I never saw, and could never imagine a smile so full of Heavenly

Blessedness, as that which shone through his countenance, the moment before his pure young soul passed away."

And this profound impression is conveyed in an expanded form in a letter of the stricken father to a dear and sympathising friend at Birmingham:—

"I never saw,—and cannot imagine a smile sweeter, and fuller of heavenly blessedness, than that which shone through his dear face, as his spirit passed away from us. Some strange and marvellous open vision of unutterable glory seemed to have come to him,—as his eyes were closed to earthly sights. Our tearful eyes could not see,—our ears could not hear,—but *his* living soul surely saw, and *his* ears, closed to mortal sound, heard—that which the Lord hath prepared for them that love him."

To his old friend, the Rev. S. A. Steinthal, of Manchester, Dr. Crosskey wrote thus:

"Many, many thanks for your tenderly affectionate sympathy. A terrible sorrow has indeed fallen upon us. Our darling Leo was so pure and loving, the living soul of gentleness and honour; so dear a friend as well as so noble a son, that his life was the light of our hearts; while his own home was among the sweetest homes on earth; and I never saw or heard of more perfect blessedness than that of which it was the centre. The gracious loveliness of his whole being acted like a charm, and everything mean, and selfish, and evil seemed

literally unable to exist, within the range of his pure influence. He was good, to his inmost heart of hearts, and his goodness was altogether lovely. How willingly—how willingly, would I have given my few years, that he might have enjoyed the Love that was his, and have continued to shed around his daily path, the light of the pure goodness, which ever attended his steps, shining out from his soul. And he himself so enjoyed life, in the highest sense,—all the glory of the world, all the natural interests of men, women, and children, all the strange humours, as well as the greater purposes of our race.

“I can only bow down, smitten, and humbly wait to learn whether the faith one has so often professed in happy hours, is indeed true; and in the extremity of mortal weakness the Everlasting Arm be indeed most surely felt in its uplifting strength.”

It was in the spring of 1882 that Mr. Crosskey received intimation that the Senate of Glasgow University had unanimously voted him the degree of Doctor of Laws. Wholly unexpected as the compliment was, it could not fail to be gratifying to him, as coming from the field of his former battles for intellectual liberty, and expressing the esteem of a body of learned men, many of whom were friends of nearly thirty years' standing. The official communication was couched in these terms:—

“University of Glasgow,  
“20 April, 1882.

“Dear Sir,

“I have the pleasure to inform you that the Senate of this University at their meeting to-day unanimously resolved to confer on you the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws.

“The Degree will be conferred at a public meeting to be held in the lower Hall of the Museum on the morning of Friday the 28th instant, at ten o'clock.

“You will have the goodness to meet the Senate in the Senate Room, in the South Front of the College, at a quarter before ten o'clock.

“Graduates will appear in black gowns, and, if they think fit, in the Hoods proper to their Degrees.

“I have the honour to be,

“Dear Sir,

“Your very obedient Servant,

“WILLIAM STEWART,

“Clerk of Senate.

“Rev. H. W. Crosskey,

“Birmingham.”

By the same post came this pleasant note from the wife of Professor Jack:—

“10, The College, Glasgow,  
“Thursday, 20th.

“My dear Mr. Crosskey,

“William has just come in a great hurry to ask me to write to you to say that the Senate wish to



make you LL.D. on the morning of the 28th (to-morrow week), and as you must come down to be capped, he wishes you would try to get away on the Wednesday, so as to join him at a dinner party on the Thursday evening, at the Edward Caird's.

"I hope you are all well and that it won't be inconvenient for you to get away for a day or two.

"Yours very sincerely,

"AGNES N. JACK."

A few days later the same lady wrote:—

"My dear Mr. Crosskey,

"We are very glad indeed that you are pleased, and that you will come to us. I should have mentioned that John proposed you, and that Sir William, and the Principal, and Edward Caird contested the honour of seconding the proposal. I think Sir William eventually had the precedence. So you see there was no room for opposition!"

From the letters of congratulation which showered upon him, I select the note of Dr. R. W. Dale, his colleague in so much public work, and the characteristic post-card of his old fellow-student, the Rev. Charles Beard, of Liverpool.

"My dear Crosskey,

"Allow me to congratulate you very heartily on your Glasgow honours, and to express the earnest hope that you will live for very many years to wear your new dignity.

"That the degree should have come to you from Glasgow, where you are so well known, and have so many friends must have made it exceptionally pleasant to you.

"All here join me in hearty congratulations.

"I am,

"Yours very faithfully,

"R. W. DALE."

"Best congratulations, O newest and best of Doctors! I rejoice that the University of Glasgow is taking, or returning to Liberal ways, and that the wreath of bays it chooses to bestow has fallen on precisely your head. Kind remembrances to the Frau Doktorinn.

"C. BEARD."

It is difficult to give any explicit account of the pastoral work of a true minister. A certain amount of method and order may, no doubt, be observed. But all the more living elements of the pastoral relation consist in the quickness of sympathetic understanding, an instinctive saying or doing of the thing which will be most helpful—bracing or quieting, stimulating or comforting,—according to the infinite variety of human needs, which can be reduced to no system and arranged to fit into no calendar. The pastoral relation is the relation of friend to friend, or it is nothing. Dr. Crosskey, we

have seen, was constitutionally shy. He shrank equally from all intrusion and all appearance of offering either official or sacerdotal consolation ; and the opportunities for natural friendship would come casually, giving him access now to one individual, now to another, as sorrow or trial brought him into contact with this one or that one. I would not if I could, give any detailed exposition, then, of his pastoral activities. Perhaps we shall realise him best, if I simply show him on one or two occasions, when he had opportunity to do a helpful thing or write a helpful and tender word.

In 1889 the Rev. William Mellor had entered on a ministry at Birmingham and became a neighbour of Dr. Crosskey's. Let him tell us what kind of neighbour he found the distinguished man, who had long been one of the most powerful forces in the public life of the city.

"On the 15th of February, 1891," writes Mr. Mellor, "when I had only been in Birmingham about a year and nine months, I was seized with an illness, which put work, for a time at least, quite out of the question. Not many days were allowed to elapse before Dr. Crosskey presented himself at my house, as the bearer of a message from my brother ministers in the district, to the effect that they had initiated arrangements with the vestry committee of my congregation to give me three months' holiday, on condition that they, my brother ministers,

would undertake to supply the pulpit in my absence. The message was more than welcome; while the messenger was in himself a benediction, never to be forgotten. On that day, if ever man did in this world, Dr. Crosskey, as he took his place in our little household, 'sat chief, as one that comforteth the mourners.'"

Again, "In April 1891," writes Mr. Alfred Bache, "Dr. Crosskey had been maligned in *The Birmingham Gazette*, under circumstances which impelled both my sister and myself, unknown to each other, to write him immediately an expression of our deep regret, at the appearance of an article, so painful to ourselves." This was Dr. Crosskey's prompt reply:

"Dear Alfred,

"Accept my heartiest thanks for your very kind letter. I can only ask you, as I have asked Margaret, not to be troubled in the slightest about such paragraphs. In truth, I feel far more the pain I well know they give you, than anything else. I always strive to separate men from their opinions, even when those opinions take the shape of some fantastic caricature of myself. On such occasions I call to mind Socrates' saying when he was attacked, to the effect that it was *not* he himself that was attacked in reality, but some one who was mistaken for him.

"Men of very intense convictions very often people the world with beings created by their own

imagination, and read its history by the light of their own special, and peculiar fancies; and when I meet with instances of this, I draw a distinction between the men themselves in their spirit and purpose, and the world of illusions in which they seem to me to dwell.

“My chief feeling indeed about the paragraphs in question is that they have placed me personally, under a kind of obligation, by bringing to me your kindly remembrances and friendly messages.

“Believe me,

“Very faithfully,

“HENRY W. CROSSKEY.”

But when a little cheerful rallying seemed more wholesome medicine than a graver method of address, the minister of the Church of the Messiah did not fail. I think the weary Head Mistress of the big Girls' School, ordered to leave her work and take unwelcome holiday, must have felt herself already better when she had read this lively letter from Dr. Crosskey:—

“117, Gough Road,

“Birmingham,

“March 9, 1885.

“Dear Miss ———,

“I am sure I need not say how very sorry I have been to hear of your illness,—how deeply I

sympathize with you, in having to give up, even for a short time, the work of your heart,—and how warmly I trust you will soon regain your strength. I called just as you had flown away south—as I was glad to hear, since you will be out of the way of all things scholastic. Teachers, like other folk, can scarcely find rest close to their workshop and its interests,—and I hope you are giving all your thoughts to utterly useless, ignorant, vain, and empty things, and absolutely eschewing any and everything that has the slightest possible use, wisdom, worth, and solidity. ‘The foolish things of the world’ can in many ways and senses, ‘confound the mighty,’ and are by no means to be despised.

“I greatly hope you will really take a thoroughly LONG holiday; my observation regarding people who break down in the middle of their active career, and when it is at its intensest activity, (and I have known cases not a few,) is that *length of rest* is all in all. Men I have known, who have broken down in mid career, and have appeared to be utterly beaten—but who have taken a *year’s* holiday—have become better than ever; and gained a fresh start in life altogether. The *alpha* and *omega* of the Gospel for such cases is—a holiday—and nothing but a holiday.

“Were you to rest until the beginning of your Autumn term in September, you would I feel sure,

be able to do anything and everything. For the time being, be content that young ladies should learn to borrow and pay back in spite of Sonnenschein,—that the sun is the chariot of Apollo,—that Rome *was* founded by the wolf-suckled Romulus,—that the Druids were all one's fancy painted them in the days of my youth,—and rest in peace.

“We all unite in kindest regards, and believe me,

“Ever faithfully,

“HENRY W. CROSSKEY.”

In his MS. “Memoranda” Dr. Crosskey selects certain elements of his Church work at Birmingham for special mention. First he places his “morning lectures on religion for ladies.” Commenced in 1870, these classes ran on lines parallel to the “University Extension Lectures,” inaugurated in many provincial towns by the University of Cambridge about that time. Dr. Crosskey enumerates among the subjects which he treated, “The Religious History of the World previous to the Birth of Christ.” “The first two Centuries of Christian History,” “Christian History from the first Century to the Age of Constantine.” “The early Religious History of England,” “The Religious History of England during the Commonwealth,” and “The Method of Creation.”

The “Memoranda” mention next “the establishment of a Home Mission in the place of Day

Schools on the passing of the Education Act." In Dr. Crosskey's annual letter to the members of the congregation, for 1872, he makes the first proposal of such an Institution. He says, "The State having accepted the duty of providing Elementary Education, and the School Board having refused to accept our rooms at a nominal rent, on account of the unsectarian condition necessarily attached to the offer—our Day Schools will soon be closed, and our large and admirable buildings be set free for other uses. As a Christian Church, ought we not to extend our Christian work? I would propose the *Establishment of a Home Mission* as soon as our Day Schools are closed." The "Home Missionary" would take the Sunday School as the basis of his operations, visit the homes of the scholars, and establish friendly relations with the parents. There were many homes around the Church of the Messiah "sorely needing some kindly help and purifying power;" the funds hitherto spent on the Day Schools would amply suffice to carry on the new movement; and it was for their Church to "lead the way in taking advantage of the relief afforded by the State from the necessity of furnishing secular instruction, for the extension of that moral and spiritual work which the Church of Christ can accomplish."

His people promptly took up Mr. Crosskey's suggestion, and in his next annual "pastoral epistle"

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he thanks them heartily, declaring that their generous response "is not only most satisfactory in itself, as a sign of the willingness of this congregation to employ its resources in doing good in the spirit of Christ; it is also a proof of large importance at the present crisis in English History, that the abandonment by the Church of the work of ordinary secular teaching means the extension of its moral and spiritual activity." The Mission soon became a very vigorous institution and it is to this day, under the energetic lead of Mr. W. J. Tranter, a source of strength to the congregation and of much social and spiritual benefit to large numbers of the poor.

Parallel with the creation of the Home Mission was the opening of Night Schools about the same time, "to supply," as Dr. Crosskey says, "the deficiencies of those who have not had the advantages of education, as a temporary provision until the Education Act should do its work."

The "Memoranda" next mention "the *Congregational Society*." In his "pastoral" of 1874, Mr. Crosskey thus refers to this institution: "The Congregational Society has been formed for the purpose of cherishing that spirit of genial and kindly fellowship which should unite together minister and people as fellow-labourers and fellow-worshippers, and which it is one of the great objects of my life to deepen and extend."

The "Memoranda" close with the mention of the establishment of a Church Library, an institution of primary value to every Church which seeks to spread true knowledge, to widen true culture, and to encourage brave and searching thought on the highest topics of human contemplation. The annual letters to the congregation, as well as the repeated grateful acknowledgments in the annual reports of the Vestry Committee (the governing executive body of the Church) bear overflowing witness to the pastoral activity of the minister in other directions innumerable. But were I to dilate on all the auxiliary institutions which his energy created or sustained, this book would swell out to unwieldy proportions. I content myself with merely recording in so many words the keen interest which he always felt in the Lawrence Street Mission to the Poor—a "Domestic Mission" of the sort inspired by Dr. Tuckerman sixty years ago, the sustaining sympathy he extended to its ministers, and the delight he showed in its victorious aggression on the misery and degradation of so many of the teeming poor.

From the death of his son "Leo" in 1886, Dr. Crosskey was never quite the same man. If there was an added tenderness in his pastoral ministrations and a still higher spiritual note in his preaching, his strength began to ebb and there were premonitions of coming illness, and signs of strain, in the multifarious toil which he refused to slacken. In

1889, at his request, an assistant minister was appointed, the choice falling on the Rev. R. T. Nicholson, who was succeeded in 1892 by the Rev. J. Crossley. Dr. Crosskey found great relief in this assistance, though he himself by no means lessened his activity. But early in 1892 his state of health became such that his medical adviser insisted on a lengthened holiday, and the Vestry Committee pressed him to accept a three months' leave, to which he reluctantly consented. Some of the letters he wrote from his exile will appear in a later chapter. Here it is enough to record that his illness took a dangerous form, and that when on the 8th of May, he once more stood in his beloved pulpit to address his people, he spoke and felt as one who had returned from the grave. How far his feelings, under this solemn experience, diverged from those which a more conventional type of religion than his would deem appropriate, yet how profound was the spiritual sentiment which the experience awakened in him, will be best understood from a few passages of this wonderful and memorable address.

He began by vindicating his gratitude to God for the renewal of earthly life and physical capacity:

"The God who has given me a human heart cannot deem it an offence if I am true to its instincts, and frankly declare my intense thankfulness that—so far as mortal judgment can predict—a few more

years of life beneath the sun have been granted to me. I long for no world more beautiful than this in which we dwell. Whether I walk by an English hedge-row, clad with the radiantly green robe of its fresh young leaves, or rest beneath the shadows of the palms by that marvellous Mediterranean Sea, whose waters are more intensely blue than the sky which canopies them; whether I look upon daisies or primroses, or upon groves of orange trees, with the lustrous balls of ripened fruit hanging from their branches; whether the snow-clad Alps bound the view around me, or whether my horizon is encircled by the undulating, tree-clad, and cultured slopes of Midland meadows, the loveliness of this earth suffices for me. I crave for no friends dearer and more loving than those by my side. The task of helping, however slightly, to lessen the ignorance, the misery, and the sin of this city of Birmingham meets the requirements of my most ambitious energies.

“And as for this Church of the Messiah—considering it for the moment from the standpoint of our personal relationship as minister and people and apart from larger interests: we have shared one another’s joys and sorrows for so many a day; the gracious memories of so many good men and good women, the fathers and mothers of many among you, so surround and companion us, and so clearly speak to our hearts of whatsoever things are true,

honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report; amid the bewilderments and temptations of the world so many of you have found, as I have, in our hymns and in our prayers, and in the reading of the mighty words of prophets, evangelists, and apostles, precious helpfulness in the struggle to sustain noble purposes against sordid and selfish aims, pure affections against corrupting pleasures, large hopes against weak and cowardly despairs; by the toil, sacrifices, and lavished resources of generations so many kindly and beneficent agencies have been established amongst us, that it can only be 'with the voice of joy and praise' that with you I again, to use the happy phrase of the old Psalm, 'keep holy-day.'

"I have known enough of mortal weakness to understand what is meant by the ebbing of the tide of life. At one time it seemed as though my vigour were just quietly passing away like the moon-drawn waters from the shore—ebbing back to the great vast unknown Deep beyond. Two thoughts, or rather feelings, then prominently asserted themselves:

"1. I became exceptionally impressed with the *outwardness* of all that the world can give or take away, of all that decay or corruption can touch. This bodily frame, human verdicts of praise or blame, wealth and rank, all the possessions upon which in mortal communities such a high value is placed, seemed to have very little connection

with real life. In the midst of physical weakness there came a strange consciousness of life, life in itself and by itself, life which was love and trust and hope, life which was independent of the shifting changes of external circumstances. We may doubt whether we have 'souls' over which the grave can have no power, we may be inclined to dismiss things spiritual as fancies, dreams, vague imaginings, when we are eagerly and thoroughly absorbed in the world's busy activities, but when those activities are laid aside through the strong compulsion of the frailty of the flesh, *then* 'what is of the Spirit' stands out in prominence as reliable substance, and what is not of the spirit resolves itself into transitory shadow. This at least has been my experience.

"2. A certain spirit of fearlessness also especially came to me. There seemed nothing in the earth beneath or in heaven above to be afraid of. I tried to analyse this feeling and to understand, if I could, the grounds upon which it was based. It is difficult to put the result into words, and the best I can use will be vague, but I found myself strangely conscious of being part of the universal framework of things—of belonging to the 'vast all' of creation; and with this consciousness came the conviction that a living soul can no more be doomed to an evil destiny than this orbbed globe—with the gloriously radiant sea I could watch from my sick bed by day and the lustrous stars that I had the shutters

opened to permit me to gaze upon by night—can be seized upon by demon powers of Confusion and Mischief and be reduced to a hopeless and miserable chaos.

“I have also happily watched the turn of the tide—the flowing back of the replenished waters of life, their creeping, as it were, over the sands, and refilling each nook and cranny among the rocks. With this renewed fulness of earthly life has come the conviction *not* of its vanity, but of its high privileges and its inestimable worth. I do not come back to you and say: ‘this emphatic warning that at any moment this earth may vanish from our gaze, teaches us that it will be wise to wean our hearts from its interests, to do all we can to weaken the ties that bind us to its affairs, and to be on our guard against loving too dearly our comrades and friends, lest we should be rebelliously unwilling to leave them when the inevitable parting comes.’

“On the contrary, my message is—‘Since we know not the hour at which we may be called away, let us make the happiest, as well as the best, use of the days that remain; let us enjoy the more thoroughly the sunshine and the flowers, and whatsoever things of beauty are around us, with grateful souls, leaving it to our Heavenly Father to provide for the future as He has done for the past; let us the more strenuously address ourselves to our appointed tasks, while the opportunity is ours, in

full confidence that the best way to prepare ourselves for the work of any other world is to do well our work in this; let us be lavish spenders of our love, and be made the more eager to serve our fellow-men to-day by every warning that we may be marched away from them to-morrow.'"

Two days after this noble utterance the congregation held a "Welcome Meeting" to Dr. and Mrs. Crosskey, when the Doctor spoke with vigour and hopefulness in reply to the affectionate greetings of his people.

The revival of strength, however, was not for long. The summer saw Dr. Crosskey again prostrated by illness, and it was not till October that he was able to return to the work he loved so well. To a friend who wrote to him, while still absent, congratulating him on his progress towards recovery, he replied:

"Your kind congratulations are very welcome to me, showing as they do, that while these quickly passing years change many things, they do not change (save in the way of deepening) the affection of dear friends, affection which I reciprocate with all my heart.

"Nothing cheers me more than to hear good news of our Church, and to know how earnestly those at work in it are striving to brighten and guide the lives of all around them. The one great object of all our services and institutions is to fill life with



pure affections, gracious sympathies, and noble purposes, and to bring us all together as members of one great family, helping one another in this brief pilgrimage, to travel cheerfully and dutifully, through its fair fields and its trying desert places, and it is a joy to me to hear of any and every effort of our friends and members, to carry out its high and human aims."

To another lady, who wrote to greet him on his return, he says:—

"It has been a strange experience to feel fading away, (I heard one of my Doctors say, 'if we do not mind, he will *slip through* our fingers,') and fading away, until not 'the grasshopper' of the writer of Ecclesiastes, but even the newspaper became a 'burden,' and *then* to feel coming back, and coming back to life again!

"Now I am alive again, and trust yet to be of some use in the world, but though *this* may be slight enough, the kindly affection of friends who welcome me back as you do, is making life on earth far more than 'worth' living."

The later autumn saw Dr. Crosskey prostrated yet again; but in February of the following year, 1893, he writes thus in his annual letter to the congregation:—

"A few days ago one of the eminent physicians who has attended me during my illness, informed me in the midst of his congratulations on my

recovery, that he had not expected me to get through the winter. The spring, however, is at hand; and with a heart full of gratitude to Him in whose hands are the issues of life and death, I find myself not only able to take my usual part in the services of your Church, but to look forward to coming days of happily mingled companionship and work with you, my dear friends and fellow-worshippers."

The Vestry Committee in their Report, issued simultaneously with the "pastoral" from which the extract above is taken, thus refer to the state of their minister's health:—

The Vestry Committee "desire, in the first place, to express their sympathy with Dr. Crosskey on his long-continued illness, and rejoice to learn that it has left no organic trouble. They congratulate him on his improved health, on his ability to resume his accustomed place in the services of the Church, and trust that he may soon regain his old strength and vigour."

The hopes of pastor and people were not to be realised. The year had not run out ere the voice of the preacher was silenced for ever. I reserve some brief account of the last months of his devoted life and of its close for the last chapter of this book.

## CHAPTER VI.

### LIFE AND WORK IN BIRMINGHAM.

#### THE PREACHER.

**I**N political, in philanthropic, in educational labours, Dr. Crosskey displayed an enthusiasm and a devotion not easily surpassed. Yet there can be no question that he regarded the specific work of the Christian minister as the central and determining function of his life. Over and over again he gives expression to this sentiment. Writing his pastoral charge for 1873, he said :—"The charge of this congregation is not merely the work of my life, it is my life itself." And in 1893, closing the last of these pastoral addresses which he was ever to pen, he said :—"Upon the life of this Church the deepest interests of my life are concentrated." Those labours which some might deem external to his proper ministry took their place in his own mind as illustrative and expository of that ministry. The Christian minister must be first of all the Christian citizen. If he withdrew himself from such share as his talents enabled him to take in the wide field of citizenship, he would be as much

disqualified to hold up to his people the mirror of the ideal life, as though he failed to exhibit the Christian graces in the domestic circle or in his private conduct. But all the varied activity of his citizenship centred, in his own thought, around the functions of the preacher and pastor.

And while the region of directly ministerial duty was thus central to him in his map of life, within that region itself the pulpit utterance was central. The sustentation of congregational "institutions," even the sanctities of direct pastoral intercourse, were secondary in his view to the solemn responsibility of leading from week to week the devotions of his people and declaring to them the word which to him was light and life and truth. The perfunctory discharge of this high duty was impossible to his conscience. No preacher ever felt more vividly the tremendous weight of the responsibility which he has voluntarily assumed; and he never entered the pulpit and faced his congregation without the mingling of awe before the solemnity of the charge laid upon him and delight at the privilege permitted him.

To those unacquainted with his preaching no account which I can give of it can be of much avail; while those who knew and loved it have no need for aid from me towards recalling the impression that it made on them. Were I even to reproduce in this chapter whole sermons which he preached,

that would not enable those who never heard him to realise the preacher and the power of his direct appeal. The printed page is at best a sorry substitute for the living man. Yet it is impossible to pass by, without any attempt at analysis, that central element in the ministry of Dr. Crosskey which gave unity to the whole of his multifarious activity and was to him the essence of the essence of his labours towards the realisation of the Kingdom of God on earth.

There is no doubt that the preaching of the minister of the Church of the Messiah differently affected different persons. It did not with equal power stir the hearts of all.

Defects in the mere externalities of delivery are felt by some a greater drawback than by others. Not only must I be permitted to say that the acoustic properties of the Church of the Messiah, fine structure though it be, are far from perfect, but there was a peculiarity in the preacher's enunciation, which came to some ears with the effect of indistinctness, and the voice was often dropped at the last word of a sentence. Hence I have heard members of the Church declare that they could not hear Dr. Crosskey, if they sat further back than the front third of the Church. To my ear, indeed, his voice always added impressiveness to the substance of his speech, and his utterance seemed instinct with the finest eloquence. But every

public speaker is differently judged in these external matters by different hearers; and there were those whose judgment was less favourable to his elocution.

Passing from the manner to the matter of his preaching, there were, again, those who found him somewhat "negative," while others thought him too "metaphysical" or too "scientific." Such judgment, indeed, was very superficial; for the negation was always but the converse side of some far-reaching affirmation of the wisdom or the love of God; and the science or metaphysics (though indeed I doubt whether he preached half a dozen sermons in his life containing metaphysical speculations) was always subordinate to and illustrative of some high religious truth. Still, however affirmative, however spiritual the sentiments of the preacher himself, in the measure in which he fails to impress the hearer with the thought or the emotion which possesses his own heart, undoubtedly he fails of the purpose of his preaching.

But while criticisms such as I have glanced at were heard from time to time, on the mass of his congregation, Dr. Crosskey's preaching produced a profound religious impression. If his sermon often opened with a critical analysis which seemed "negative" or "destructive" in its tendency, as the argument developed it always turned to an affirmation vaster and more glorious than the

doctrine set aside. From his very first sermon at Derby to the last he delivered in Birmingham, it is safe to say that there was not one which was not designed and calculated, if rightly understood, to arouse and stimulate the conscience, to quicken and confirm the faith, or to build up the ethical and spiritual character of those who heard it.

Yet of Dr. Crosskey it was true, as of all truly religious preachers, that, as the years went by, slowly, surely his teaching became more tender, wider in its sympathies, sublimer in spirituality. The hard hitting which finds its way into the sermons of every young preacher, who is possessed with the true enthusiasm of humanity, gradually gave way, as experience widened and deepened, and sympathies enlarged, before a gentler appeal in which the sense of the encompassing divine love was more dominant than the burning indignations and impatient iconoclasm of youth. That portion of this development which fell within the Birmingham years is thus touchingly indicated to me by a lady, who esteemed both his public ministry and his private friendship a very sacred privilege. She says:

“While his sermons were always extremely rich in lofty and beautiful thought, we have sometimes in years gone by, felt them a little too metaphysical, and wanting in simplicity: but as life brought him trials and sorrows, which might have worn out, and even embittered a less noble mind, his faith seemed

to grow ever more simple, steadfast, and cheerful, while his human sympathies and affections broadened and mellowed. He told us once that he never loved this world so much as when he lay sick unto death, and ready to leave it; and he assuredly lived up to his own conviction, that 'one of the clearest messages that come to us from the graves of those we love is this,—be more faithful to your living friends.'"

I have said that on the mass of his congregation Dr. Crosskey's preaching made a profound religious impression. The testimonies to this effect that have come into my hands are themselves impressive in a high degree. Nor did his own congregation alone feel his spiritual power. Few men within Unitarian circles have won a wider repute as stirring and impressive preachers.

What then was the secret of his pulpit power? He could never have wielded that power had his own religious life not been drawn from a deep well of spiritual faith and stamped with a profound sincerity. But there have been many men of whose religious life all this might be unhesitatingly affirmed, who nevertheless have never wielded much influence as preachers. We have to lay our finger, if we can, on some more specific quality in Dr. Crosskey, if we would understand how and why his pulpit address affected the average hearer.

I find the key in a striking sentence incorporated



in the sketch of his friend which Dr. Dale contributes to a later chapter. Speaking of his platform oratory, Dr. Dale says:—"He related everything to the great principles which rule the destiny of nations; and he saw in every falling apple the force which determines the orbits of the planets and binds sun to sun and system to system through all the realms of space." I believe it was the clear vision with which the preacher saw one divine law penetrating and dominating the whole ethical and spiritual universe, and the precision with which he was able to correlate all the events and all the duties of human life to that all-permeating law, that gave him his overwhelming force of appeal alike to the understandings and the consciences of men. No subject could to him seem foreign to the pulpit or unrelated to the moral and spiritual life. There was one God, the Father, over all the operations, tremendous or microscopic, of external nature, the relations of nation to nation, the religious and secular assemblies of men, the passions and emotions of the individual human heart. All were to be read and interpreted in the light of the Divine Fatherhood. Nothing could be without relation to the holiness of God. Hence his pulpit addresses took a wider sweep of topic than would, in more "orthodox" circles, be deemed permissible, and he lit up with the lamp of his faith the investigations of the man of science, the

contentions of the politician and the ecclesiastic, the studies of the historian, the problems of the market and the exchange, the intercourse of domestic life, no less than the relations of the individual soul to God. There could be no subject of human study which religion could not illuminate, no problem of human conduct which religion could not direct.

A preacher characterised by this unity, compactness and comprehensiveness of thought on the universe and God can appeal alike to the instinctive faith and to the native conscience of the hearer with a directness, incisiveness, and luminosity, not often given to those whose theology is a thing apart from the rest of their intellectual life or whose creed is less closely correlated to the laws of practical conduct. In Dr. Crosskey the intensity of conviction added force to its self-consistency. Hence to the hearer sufficiently attuned to his tone of mind his appeal came with a convincing vigour which it would be difficult to over-estimate. Where the practical problems of every hour are felt to be in immediate correlation to the eternal principles on which the universe is based, conscience gets little chance to slumber and God cannot be forgotten.

A preacher whose mental attitude was such as I have attempted to describe, however averse to the controversial temper, could hardly refrain from frequent efforts to lead the minds of men out of the

cramped confines of a more conventional theology into the enjoyment of wide spiritual spaces, the free and bracing air of which to him was so invigorating. He finds his function in mediating between the faith that shuns the reason and the reason that discards the faith ; and in every large city there are thousands of men and women to whom the message such a man has to deliver is the very word of life. No man ever was more loyal than Dr. Crosskey to intellectual veracity ; but intellectual veracity only led him into more spacious chambers of spiritual faith. And up the stairway that led to these he was ever eager to guide the feet of those who had lost their way. And so, in 1887, I find him writing to an old member of his congregation who had temporarily left the city :

“ On Sunday evenings, I am just now trying to appeal to the sceptical and indifferent, on behalf of our faith, and to give the young people about us the grounds of our belief in God, and Providence, and Immortality. So many put aside Religion, as a matter on which we can know nothing, and so many others are so absorbed in worldly interests, that it is more and more needful to try to awaken the life of the ‘ soul,’ which is indeed the deepest life.

“ There is a profound necessity for doing *our* part, in the work orthodox people describe as ‘ saving the souls ’ of men, and in the midst of our

attempts to form rational opinions, we must not forget the greatest of all works, the arousing aspirations, and uplifting hopes and desires beyond the range of lower interests, and perishable aims."

A few brief passages selected almost at random from Dr. Crosskey's sermons must suffice to indicate his mode of treating the varied topics which fell within the range of his discourses.

Himself eminent in one important branch of physical research, he knew, as we have seen, of no "conflict between religion and science." He had no need to "reconcile" them, since they had for him no quarrel. But he delighted in correlating the facts and laws of the physical universe revealed to mankind within the last forty years, to the spiritual facts and laws which were the substance of his religious faith. From a discourse delivered at Bristol on occasion of the meeting of the British Association in 1875, published by the President's request, I take these paragraphs:—

"It is not that one set of truths termed 'Christian' and 'religious,' must be *reconciled* with another set termed 'scientific.' The very idea of *reconciliation* between religion and science implies rivalry, jealousy, and antagonism. I do not believe one doctrine because I am a religious teacher, and another doctrine because I study science, and then endeavour by a reconciling process to bring the two together and prevent them from quarrelling and harmonize

the inferences for the acceptance of which they severally clamour, but I accept every scientific law as a method of God; and therefore by direct consequence part and parcel of my faith in His High name. There is nothing to 'reconcile.' Scientific discoveries indicate the actual processes through which the Creator fulfils His purpose.

"Because men have been busily twisting and ingeniously contorting phrases in the vain attempt to combine opinions they have imagined to be 'religious' with ascertained scientific facts, instead of simply and naturally accepting the facts as in themselves divine—a thousand misunderstandings have arisen between the Church of God and the students of His works.       •       •       •       •

"If qualities commonly described as mental are referred to the 'promise and potency' associated with 'matter,' mind is not degraded to matter, but matter is uplifted to mind. The tendency of philosophical materialism is not to scepticism, but to idealism. The resolution of matter into force, and the attribution to force of those mighty qualities, connected with ordered intellectual action, render the phenomena of the universe the manifestation of an authority possessed of every characteristic the Christian ascribes to his God. In the attempt to reduce 'spirit' to 'matter,' matter is itself transfigured and becomes spirit."

The next is from a sermon delivered in his own pulpit on occasion of the unveiling of the statue

of his illustrious predecessor in that pulpit, Dr. Priestley, in 1874.

“The Universe of which this world is an atom, is a thought of God. To understand a law of nature is to reach a rule of thought in the mind of the Everlasting. The outward changes of visible things are the movements of the Eternal Being. Since the life we have proceeded from the One Spirit pervading and sustaining the universe, our life must interpret the secret of the universe, and the interpreted secret of the universe must become a revelation of life. A strange and blessed harmony must prevail between the facts of nature and the sanctities of the soul. Scientific truth is Divine revelation.”

The following paragraphs are all extracted from a noble discourse on the Conservation of Energy, preached in 1878.

“Supposing this doctrine of the Conservation of Energy to be finally established in its extremest form, is it necessary to conclude that no place is left for the action of the Spirit of a living God? Does it substitute a circle of physical changes for the growth of a Divine Life? Does it render impossible or incredible such a contact between man and his Maker as that of which Christ spake, when he said ‘If a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him; and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him?’

On the contrary ;—the constancy of the amount of the physical energy in the universe does not destroy the religious meaning of the fact that *the sum of the influences promoting righteousness on earth at each successive epoch of history is larger than during the period immediately preceding.* The spiritual force carrying on the world's advancement from barbarism to civilization, so far as it manifests itself through human agency and deals with human affairs, is not a fixed quantity altering its direction alone ; but from generation to generation, it creates fresh instruments, employs new methods, and achieves results beyond any standard of measurement the past has revealed.     •     •     •     •

“Human history is not a succession of the re-arrangements of existing material : actually new elements are introduced into its course. Continents have succeeded continents, but the changes to which geology bears witness have not been effected by any fresh creation of the substances of which rocks are composed. The land on which we live is the debris of a vanished world. The sand and mud, brought down by rivers to the sea, form part of the material from which a new earth will be fashioned, as the earth of to-day is composed of the sand and mud deposited by the rivers and seas of many yester-days. In the history of man, the opposite method of procedure is clearly followed. From epoch to epoch, fresh thoughts, higher motives, deeper feelings, nobler hopes enter into human souls.     •     •     •

"In a kindred way, a Life higher than man's is constantly revealing itself through the faculties of man. In apostolic phraseology, 'it is God that worketh, both to will and to do of His good pleasure.' The coming of a great man adds to the moral strength of all the after ages. \* \* \*

"Before Isaiah, the world had less inspiring faith in the kingdom of God, and less energy for its realization than after he had uttered his burning prophecies. England, before Milton, differed from the England in which his spirit lives. In our own day, the devotion of Clarkson and Wilberforce to the liberation of the slaves; of Cobden to free trade; and of Earl Russell to civil and religious liberty, were distinct gifts of God to our people. The authors of our age, whether humourists, or poets, or philosophers, or historians; authors such as Wordsworth and Tennyson, Thackeray and Dickens, Mill and Carlyle, are as truly new creations of God as though fifty fresh stars had been placed in the sky. \* \* \*

"The beatitudes of Christ are as unalterable by man as the courses of the stars. No acts of parliament, no decrees of emperors, no legal courts could reverse them. Some philosophers speak of 'the nature of things' and others of an idealized and personified 'humanity'; but the unceasing activity of laws which affect thought and conduct and character compel me to acknowledge the Spirit of

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a living God. That power, by whom and through whom, from age to age, the poor in spirit are blessed, and *not* the haughty and self-seeking; the merciful, and *not* the harsh and cruel; the peacemakers, and *not* the promoters of strife; the pure in heart, and *not* the impure; they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, and *not* they whose desire is for pleasure and wealth alone, is not a form of mechanical energy, and can have no other name than the Lord God Almighty, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, who reigneth for evermore. \* \* \*

“Admitting then, without the slightest reservation, the doctrine of the conservation of energy, I contend that it does not cover all the facts of life. The kingdom of God remains untouched. It is true that a machine creates no energy and that the body is a machine; but a constant increase is taking place in the sum of the intellectual and moral forces that sway the history of man. A fire, although it should consume a great city, destroys nothing; it changes the distribution of certain elements; nothing more: but good deeds add themselves to good deeds; and make straight in the desert a highway for a diviner future.

“The rising of the vapours from sea to cloud, and the falling of the rain to earth, however continuous, do not result in making the elements of oxygen and hydrogen more plentiful; but the fountains of an immortal tenderness are ever open; and the

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amount of loving affection upon earth is ever increasing."

If religion and science required no "reconciliation" in Dr. Crosskey's mind, no more did religion and politics. As science in thought, so politics in conduct, were to illustrate the eternal verities of faith.

So in the sermon on Priestley, already cited, we have this emphatic utterance:—

"Our duty as religious men does not require that we should support any one series of political measures, but it does require that we should judge all measures by their fitness for the education of free men. Our duty is one of eternal protest against a blind yielding to ignorant outcries, and of resistance to the pressure of any organization which would lead a man away from personal truthfulness of thought, character, and conduct."

In another sermon on religion and politics the matter is put thus:—

"The rightful discharge of social and political duties depends upon the sacredness we attach to the history of our own age. If we imagine that this age is poor and mean—that it is best managed by paltry desires—that ignoble appeals to petty interests will sufficiently well carry on its business—that we may put great principles on one side as too good for daily use—the Lord God will simply put us, with any influence, wealth, or station we

may possess, on one side, as insignificant and unworthy triflers; while He accomplishes His majestic purpose with nobler hands than ours.

"If we accept our age as a chapter to be written in the Book of Life; if we have grace to see that the noblest purposes have the fairest practical results; that appeals to the highest motives achieve the surest triumphs over the meanest obstacles; that a great principle wears and works best in ordinary avocations, that Spirit which dwells with saints, and prophets, and martyrs, may even touch our unworthy lips with fire!"

Sturdy "liberationist" as he was, Dr. Crosskey never treated the Church of England, whether from pulpit or from platform, otherwise than with chivalric generosity. His broad historic and religious sympathies could not be insensible to the glory of her bede-roll. In a sermon on their duties to their own communion, delivered to his people in 1872, he showed at once his fine appreciation of the Established Church and the reasons which made his own dissent inevitable:—

"There is, without doubt," he said, "a certain generous and noble character possessed by the Established Church of this kingdom. The type of sanctity it has cherished combines learning with calmness, charity, and reverence. The great typical men of the English Church have not been aggressive and domineering. Their learning has

been profound and generous; their patience with error, sweet and kindly; their worship of God humble and childlike. To understand the true genius of the Church of England, we must read such a book as 'Walton's Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, Herbert, and Sanderson,' and we shall learn how beautiful has been the fair blossom of English piety.

"There are no colours in the fairest sky so fair as these. The feather whence the pen was shaped that traced the lives of these good men, dropped from an angel's wing. With moistened eye, we read of faith and purest charity in statesman, priest, and humble citizen. Oh, could we copy their mild virtues, then, what joy to live, what blessedness to die!"

Why then did he and others find themselves compelled to stand aloof?

"Why should we not be content with the Church of the nation? I can join no Church which imposes subscription to an intricate system of theological doctrines, and which does not leave the mind as free to utter its convictions as to search for truth. The various devices employed to reconcile subscription with free thought—the use of words in a double sense, the employment of phrases which mean anything or nothing, the acceptance of a legal formulary of a doctrine not personally believed—seem to me to impair the healthful frankness of

the relation between man and God. In the presence of its Maker the soul has nothing to do with the decisions of synods and councils; it has only to speak its thoughts as it thinks them, and as it feels an actual affection so to utter its beseeching prayers. The moment men have to examine whether what they have signed agrees with what they really believe, an element of human casuistry enters into the act of worship."

It will be seen that the act of preaching was to Dr. Crosskey an intense reality. It was the opening of the passion of his soul, the deepest secret of his spiritual life, to the friends that were gathered at his feet, and in that voluntary revelation he was impelled by the burning desire that consumed him, to quicken in them a life of communion with the Living God and trust in the divine purpose towards which the whole creation moves. From the sermon last cited I may quote these earnest sentences in illustration of what I have said:

"I do not speak in order to gain more hearers for sermons; although if I did not believe myself capable of preaching some regenerating truth, I should not stand here. I do not speak simply on behalf of our cause as an intellectual enlightenment: although we must measure the chances of success in spreading our principles by the amount of practical interest we display in their support, and if we do not serve them adequately, must be prepared

to fail; but I speak to you as men with families gathered round you, with characters to form, temptations to resist, burdens to bear, duties to discharge, a country to serve.

“As men and women, citizens, servants and masters, fathers and mothers, week by week let us enter this Church, not only to hear a discourse, but to commune with our God.”

Again, on his first Christmas Day at Birmingham, this is how he spoke:

“I speak not as a preacher, but as a man with a life to lead and a death to die; I do not speak under the influence of a sentimental enthusiasm, but I speak the sober conviction of a life, when I say that there is no knowledge of science, dearly as I love to ramble among its mountains and to lose myself in its forests and by its rivers; that there is no power of poetic imagination or artistic skill, nobly as I judge the faculty divine which creates new worlds of loveliness and connects thoughts too deep for tears with the lowliest flower that blows; that there is no wealth, keenly as I might enjoy command of worldly treasures to gratify tastes which never fail in ministering an intense delight—for which I would exchange the faith which found its expression in the life of Christ; that there is a Love upon this world kindred to the love within human hearts; that this Love seeks to save that which is lost, and can never forget and never forsake.”

We shall see in the next chapter how earnestly Dr. Crosskey desired a richer religious training for the young. I think the sermon from which the next extract is selected was preached at Glasgow, but its sentiment is one which only grew stronger with the years:—

“By the common methods of religious culture, how many children are made to detest the very thought of religion, and to feel it the one shadow upon their lives, the dark spot of their existence, the realm of dread. The child is made to think of sin, in religion’s name; before it has been guilty of aught but wilfulness, it is told of its sinful nature. The child is made to think of hell and the devil: over its lips the dark words glibly pass in catechism and prayer. Alas! that thus with thoughts of sin and hell, the young mind should be polluted, and saddened, and degraded.

“With respect to religious education it must be remembered, that religion is not so much information to be conveyed, as an emotion to be awakened. It cannot be taught by lessons, like history, grammar, or geography, any more than love can be so inculcated. It must be aroused within. There is a very sea of religious emotion within the heart of a child—there it is, and it needs but tender sympathy to draw forth its fertilizing waters over the whole life of the little one. See, what wondrous clinging love within the child—what deep awe—what intense

reverence—what worship of the beautiful, as represented in the least flower; lead these emotions of its nature Godward with gentleness, and though your child may not know by heart many chapters of the Bible, as formal lessons, it yet shall grow into a manly religious life.”

On all the great notes of spiritual religion the preacher dwelt with persuasive power. Hear him on that beautiful phenomenon, the implicit faith in immortality which is so often given to the dying in whom through the years of physical vigour that great trust has burnt but dimly. The sermon was preached in 1882:—

“That divine confidence in the Life Eternal which renders the change of death—a change to us who are in health terrible in its surroundings and awful to contemplate—a matter of such slender account to those about to pass through it that the woe of others is their only grief, is an unanswerable witness that the soul can know no corruption. There can be no justification for a faith less strong than the faith of those consciously entering upon the Valley of the Shadow—seeing it straight before them—aware that at any moment they may be compelled to walk through its mysterious darkness. If the dying fear no evil and fall asleep like tired children, what can we, the living, cry but this: ‘O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy victory?’”

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Here again is a striking plea for watchfulness and the power of prayer:—

“Years ago, I remember sailing down the Clyde with a man of some slight note in those days, although now forgotten, who was bound for an emigrant ship. He had been a preacher—fervid, eager, thorough! I had heard him denounce all selfishness and hypocrisy, and proclaim the dawn of a new civilization. I expected to hear him speak of his sacred mission in the new world towards which he was journeying, and of his high hopes when enjoying the fresh opportunities of a land free from the burden of restrictive customs and ancient prejudices. I can never forget the shock I felt, when he explained that he had discovered that nothing could be done in this world without money; and money he intended to make. The fire of his prophetic fervour had burnt out—dust and ashes, dust and ashes only remained! I was very young; but I recall at this moment the exact spot on the ship’s deck where I stood and wondered whether, as I knew more of life, the same cloud would also fall darkly, drearily, upon my heart; and from that hour I learnt how grave the need of watchful prayer to be delivered from that wisdom of the world, which is the death of the soul.”

With these scanty extracts from Dr. Crosskey’s sermons we must, in the present volume, be content. They are not indeed as inadequate to the purpose

for which they are cited here as the proverbial brick displayed as a specimen of the house; but they are little better than a few small blossoms shown by way of conjuring up the image of the rich and manifold garden with its fragrant stores. They may, however, be appropriately supplemented by this sketch from a local newspaper, describing the preacher and his preaching after one of his grievous illnesses in the latter days, when his earthly sands were almost run.

“His eye has not dimmed nor his natural fervour abated. Yesterday as the gowned and slightly bent figure passed from the private pew to the pulpit, increasing years and a protracted illness may have seemed to the congregation to have left their mark upon the minister. But leaning over the pulpit ledge in his familiar attitude, Dr. Crosskey read his brief New Year’s address in clear, mellow tones, unbroken by any bronchial irritation, or sign of weakness of voice. It was a message of hope and inspiration which he delivered, conceived in the right spirit, sympathetically regardful of the fact that his hearers had reached another milestone in life’s journey, and needed the wise words of good counsel, the encouragement of a sanguine leader, and an auspicious “first-footing” in pursuing anew the march of man. The homily had its literary interest, the fascination of personal incident, the charm of eloquent description, and the attraction of

anecdote. It was charged with broad and catholic feeling, an unfaltering faith, and the bracing atmosphere of a confident belief in the goodness of God and the reign of righteousness. Cloud and doubt-dispelling, it must have cleared and cheered every mind among the congregation to which the New Year had presented itself in no inviting light. If we may accept the ancient saying, that out of the full heart the mouth speaketh, it would be fair to deduce from the bright, fervid, altruistic discourse of Dr. Crosskey yesterday, that the minister himself had been restored to a great measure of his former vigorous health and good spirits. The lines upon the worn, slightly ascetic face may have been more marked; in his closer attention to the manuscript there possibly lurked a suggestion of failing sight and impaired memory. But in the sonorous periods, and the clear ringing sentences there was no hint of limited powers. Dr. Crosskey in his pulpit appearance, recalls an older type of minister. The silvery hair and white beard; the grave, dignified expression: the striking and somewhat aquiline features, softened by the kind eyes, those 'homes of silent prayer;' the air of the student, and yet the man of thought which leaps to action, self-reliant, courageous, impulsive. Lit up with that genial recognition which is the fore-runner of the marked courtesy with which he acknowledges each greeting, the countenance of the revered

Unitarian pastor is one to inspire the confidence which fast develops into warm respect and loyal allegiance. Even in his style of delivery there is a reminiscence of the old school of divines. We would not say that they were always perorating, but their pulpit oratory was at least characterised by its earnestness and fervour, there being less calm, ordered reasoning than eloquent preaching, designed to communicate the religious *enthusiasma* of the preacher to the hearer."

It has already been made abundantly apparent that the preaching of Dr. Crosskey braced the moral fibre and rekindled the flickering faith of many. Mr. Walter Baynham, whose testimony to this effect has appeared in an earlier chapter, sends me a letter in which, in his turn, the preacher testifies how stimulating and helpful it is to him to know that his word has been clothed with power.

"Your very kind note," writes Dr. Crosskey, in 1887, "gave me great pleasure; and I thank you heartily for it. It is cheerfully strengthening to have such an assurance as yours, that any religious services of mine could awaken such impressive sympathies as you tell me they have done, in a friend I value as I do you.

"All my life, I have felt as one speaking his message,—as best he could,—but ignorant as to whether it would or could reach any listening souls. I only have felt bound to speak—leaving any results in His hands who leaves what is worthless to

perish. Heretic of heretics as I have been,—and am—in many things, I yet have felt that the religion of all men seeking the ideal of Christ, is after all the same—in its heart of hearts.”

I may well conclude this chapter with the pastor's letter to a member of his flock, who also had broken that silence which so often leaves a preacher ignorant of the blessing which has been upon his speech, and written the expression of her gratitude for his inspiring words:

“Your kind note,” he replies, “is a very happy Christmas greeting for me. Having no ‘Articles of Faith’ to use as a brief, speaking on behalf of no ‘case,’ but only striving honestly and plainly to utter such thoughts and feelings as are awakened by this strange world, when looked upon in the light of hopes and affections that ‘wander into eternity,’—and knowing at the same time, how often those thoughts and affections must be dimmed, and blurred by one's own poor blindness and weakness,—a preacher, in any case, can only speak right on, trusting that some heart may respond, although often it is hard enough to believe that one can do any good. In silence and solitude indeed, the wise and fitting reticence, which is the protection of truth of feeling, requires that such work *must* be done. Your kind words will last me many a day, as bidding me be of good cheer, and have faith that week by week I do not always discharge a useless and unprofitable task.”

## CHAPTER VII.

### LIFE AND WORK IN BIRMINGHAM.

#### UNITARIAN CHRISTIANITY.

[N the preceding chapters the nature of Dr. Crosskey's religious belief has been in some degree revealed; it coloured all his utterances and penetrated his personal character, so that the man could not be drawn or his words reported without some indication being thereby given of the faith which inspired his life. But this sketch would hardly form a duly proportioned whole, were I not to attempt to give some more definite account of his personal religious position and his relation to the religious body of which he was a distinguished member.

Dr. Crosskey, then, from first to last, professed and called himself a Unitarian Christian. What did that profession mean upon his lips?

Let us distinguish first what it did *not* mean. The man who announces himself a professor of a particular form of Christian doctrine usually identifies himself thereby with a circumscribed group of Christians, who jealously separate themselves

from all who do not hold their special view. He wishes to be classified by his doctrine, to display it as a flag, to base on it a denominational system, to constitute a sect.

To Dr. Crosskey, as to the more cultured and broader minded Unitarians everywhere, the profession of Unitarian Christianity bore no such significance as that. His ideal of a Christian Church was one in which men and women of the most varied intellectual convictions, drawn together by those moral and spiritual sympathies which transcend the intellectual forms of faith, should commune together in Christian worship and unite with each other in aggression on the world's woe and sin. And if in the pews of the Church of the Messiah few but Unitarians were to be found, it was not that the Church was not both in theory and in practice open to men and women of diverse creeds, on a footing of absolute equality with its Unitarian members, but that they themselves refused to worship where doctrinal conditions in accordance with their views were not presupposed.

Again, the majority of Christian believers, in laying down the form of their belief, base their doctrine on some kind of authority external to their personal reason and conscience and spiritual instinct. Either in the age-long authority of an historic Church, or in the words of a divinely inspired book, or in the *dicta* of some human master, they

find the authorisation and guarantee of the faith that they profess. Their doctrine is the authoritative pronouncement of the particular ecclesiasticism to which they have pledged their allegiance. That is to say, their faith is not merely personal, but *dogmatic*, and its articles are so many distinct and definite dogmas, and private judgment is in some measure, less or greater, subordinate to ecclesiastical or biblical authority.

With the Unitarian Christianity of Dr. Crosskey this was not so. Together with all the finer spirits who have embraced that form of faith, he dared to throw himself absolutely on the intellectual, moral, and spiritual faculties with which his Creator had endowed him, for the evolution of his religious belief. Indeed, he dared no other. Where reason, conscience, or spiritual intuition gave a clear deliverance, he would have deemed it the gravest infidelity to check or pretend to correct that deliverance by reference either to ecclesiastical creed or to Scripture text. God for him was neither dead nor silenced, but whispered still to the listening soul and breathed into his living child the eternal verities which are life and light.

Such an attitude implies no failure in reverence for whatever in human literature or history deserves to be revered. To thinkers of Dr. Crosskey's type the prophet is still a prophet; nay, he speaks a more enkindling word than to those who yield him a



more conventional homage. Only, the mode of access of the prophetic word to the soul is other than with more orthodox believers. Its power is a self-revealing power; the disciple accepts and believes, not because he has sworn allegiance, but because the word captivates the reason, or smites the conscience, or illumines the soul, by the force of its inherent truth and beauty. No man ever more profoundly loved and revered Jesus Christ than Dr. Crosskey. But even to him he did not sacrifice his critical or ethical faculties. He gave himself over to his guidance and inspiration because that which Jesus said and did and was, quickened into living power the word and life of the Holy Spirit within his own breast.

Dr. Crosskey then was distinguished alike from the ordinary ecclesiastic and from the dogmatist. His religious convictions were individual to himself. He neither accepted them from any master nor desired to found upon them any sect. "Personally Unitarian, ecclesiastically free": such was his description of his position. It is a position which few have cared to understand. The man who holds it and insists on both its members, must be prepared to bear the reproach on the one hand that he is "ashamed" or "afraid" of the Unitarian name, because he will not pledge his Church to Unitarianism, and on the other to be charged with a narrow sectarianism, because he avows himself personally a Unitarian Christian.

What then was covered by this term "Unitarian Christianity" in the mind of Dr. Crosskey? The word "Unitarian" properly and originally applies to one who holds the unipersonality of God and consequently the unmixed humanity of Jesus Christ. And those two doctrines Dr. Crosskey held and preached with luminous distinctness. For him God was the Father; the Father, God. For him Jesus was the human Brother. But these doctrines presented themselves to him not as negations or denials, still less as cold and lifeless dogmas, but rather as affirmations kindling the heart and touching the roots of spiritual life. The ordinary doctrines of the orthodox seemed to him rather the denials, limiting and depreciating the infinite and perfect love which the Father bears to all His children, removing Him from the immediate communion of the human soul by the thrusting of a Mediator between, and robbing us of the marvellous inspiration to be gathered in the long battle of life from the thought of one constituted in all respects as we are, who nevertheless displayed a faultless love and loyalty, holding up to all humanity the mirror of the ideal man.

The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man—even as declared in deathless words by the Prophet of Nazareth, contained for him the sum and substance of religion. He would have no less; he asked no more. For in these two verities, analysed and realised with all their contents, he found the power of prayer, the promise of immortality, the

medicine for sin, the clarion-call to service, the consecration of conscience—the actual speech of God in man—and the holiness of all true love. What more needed he? In the strength of that meat he lived his life, fought his battle, preached his word, and left his testimony. Measure the man, and the service he rendered, and the love he won: and you have an index to the grandeur and sufficiency of the creed to which he gave the assent of his mind and heart.

Turning to those annual pastoral addresses which the Church of the Messiah so wisely invites from its minister, I find that they contain many passages which illustrate the position which I have endeavoured to indicate, of individual Unitarianism combined with ecclesiastical freedom. In 1874 he reminds his people how he has given a series of Sunday Evening Lectures on “What Unitarians believe and what Unitarians deny.” Two or three years later he describes their ecclesiastical position in very glowing words: “The discoveries of science are for us the revelations of God. We welcome rational criticism of the Bible as a means by which the immortal truths it contains are made clear by their separation from mortal errors. No legal contentions as to what vestments may be worn in prayer, or what creed should be believed, disturb our peace. We do not recognise the Privy Council as a tribunal competent to decide upon the sanctities of the spiritual life.

“Untroubled by the Court of Arches, we are free to seek the Maker of the heavens and the earth, as our Father, whose aid will be near in temptation, whose mercy will pardon, whose love will comfort, and whose righteousness will redeem from sin the heart of each one of us in this great world of His care.”

A year later, in January, 1878, he writes: “Our Unitarianism involves great responsibility. We are entrusted with the duty of proving its practical and its spiritual power;—*its practical power* as a religion of human service, adequate for the redemption of this world from its sin; *its spiritual power* as a religion which delivers us from temptation, feeds with lofty thoughts, sustains in honourable toils, touches with a great reverence, fills with hopes alike for time and eternity, and opens that kingdom of God which is within the souls of all who trust and love.”

In 1881 Dr. Crosskey writes: “In the Sunday Evening Lectures, I have, as usual, during the past year, tried to teach what I regard as the broadest and most generous form of Unitarianism. I have not ridiculed any man’s honest faith; but I have not hesitated to state clearly what I regard as superstitious. At the same time, I have preached Christianity as no mean theological controversy, but as a Divine Spirit pervading all that is noble in Literature and History and Science.”

In February, 1886, he very clearly repeats the statement of his position :

"Believing that the love of truth is accepted before God, and that it behoves every true man to pursue truth in religious, as in all other subjects, I do not hesitate to give the opinions I personally hold the name of 'Unitarian'—that being the name by which they are most clearly indicated; although all my hearers will, I am sure, bear witness that I preach the Communion of the Saints of every creed, and do not in the slightest degree insist upon theological agreement as a necessity for union in Christian work and worship."

In a sermon on the text, "I believe in the Communion of Saints," preached at the Church of the Messiah in February, 1873, Mr. Crosskey said:—

"Here within this Church we gather, separated unwillingly from many of our fellow Christians, yet our hearts go forth and claim all good men as brethren. We appear to belong to a small and isolated sect; we are really linked to all the worshippers of God within every Church and in every clime.

"The sympathies of no Church can have a wider range; for unto us in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is an accepted Saint. A '*small*' sect! The Church in which we worship is the Church Universal. An '*isolated*' band of heretics! Our brethren are the reverent worshippers of all creeds and nations."

In 1888 Dr. Crosskey had an opportunity of declaring the principles of Unitarian Christianity to a wider audience than he commonly addressed. A series of lectures was arranged at the South Place Chapel, Finsbury, in which members of various denominations, within and without the circle of professed Christianity, were invited to expound the tenets or principles of their several religious groups. The managers of the South Place Institute announced that, in arranging these lectures on "Centres of Spiritual Activity," they desired to correct the common method of gathering ideas concerning different denominations "from sources adverse to the denominations themselves."

The minister of the Church of the Messiah was selected as the exponent of Unitarianism; and on the 26th of February, Dr. Crosskey discharged his responsible task by delivering a noble discourse which has since been widely circulated.

The lecturer began with a reference to the ill repute of Unitarians in the theological world.

"Among Christian Sects," he said, "we are the dangerous people. Religious communion with us is interdicted. Through the length and breadth of England there is scarcely a Church or Chapel—save it belong to the small group known as 'Free Christian' or 'Unitarian,' in which an avowed Unitarian would be permitted to preach, although he himself would willingly exchange pulpits with

the most orthodox of orthodox believers. Books, bearing on their title page the name of the 'Unitarian Association' are practically placed on an Index Expurgatorius; and devices have to be employed to obtain a general circulation for them.

"Even when men throw off the popular creeds," he continued, "and announce opinions which are as much entitled to be called 'Unitarian' as a rose is to be called a rose—they will repudiate that name with indignation—as though it were shameful: and denounce us as narrow bigots should we venture to apply it to them.

"Outside the ranks of the professed adherents of distinctive churches, a curious aversion to 'the Unitarians' may sometimes be noted. We have e.g. fallen under the lash of that great prophet of the 19th century—Thomas Carlyle. He meets a Unitarian minister and admires him—'One of the sturdiest little fellows I have come across for many a day. A face like a rock; a voice like a howitzer: only his honest kind grey eyes re-assure you a little'—and asks with amazement, in the spirit of the famous old question 'can any good come out of Nazareth?'—'that hardy little fellow what has he to do with *the dust hole of extinct Socinianism!*' and describes 'the Unitarians' in no complimentary terms. 'These people and their affairs (he writes) seem all melting rapidly enough, into thaw slush, or one knows not what. Considerable madness is

visible in them. 'Stare super antiquas vias.' No (they say) we cannot stand or walk or do any good whatever there; by God's blessing we will fly—will not you?—here goes! And their FLIGHT!—it is as the flight of the *unwinged*; of oxen endeavouring to fly with the wings of an ox.' "

After expatiating on the absolute freedom from doctrinal limitations of the Churches commonly called Unitarian, the preacher continued:

"I am not unfrequently asked how we manage to prevent those with whom we may have no sympathy from coming and taking possession of our Churches? Simply—by not attempting to 'manage' the matter at all; by excluding no one we fling ourselves upon the hearts and consciences of men—in confidence that the more thoroughly human hearts and consciences are trusted, the more completely will trust be justified."

As with the Churches and their membership so with the pulpits and their ministers:—

"Thank God! this hand has never been compelled to sign itself a 'slave.' From the first day on which I entered a pulpit until now, I have remained as personally unpledged in teaching religion, as any Professor in a college chair of Art, Literature, or Science. Thank God! I am a minister of a Church which declines to close its doors with the bolts and bars of theological articles upon any child of God who chooses to come and worship therein."



And how vain after all are authoritative creeds and compulsory articles of faith! "No creed within the scope of the wit of man to devise can permanently secure uniformity of belief.

"Were we to build a glass roof over an oak tree, and carefully guard it from the weather: and fearful lest it should fall, prop it up with stone buttresses—we should kill it for our pains. Exposure to the air and the storm strengthens it—its leaves are greener as they drink in freely the breath of heaven; its mighty trunk stands more firmly when kind nature is relied upon for its sustenance and support."

Dr. Crosskey then proceeded to sum up the Unitarian faith as it presented itself to him, only prefacing his summary with the declaration that "'The Unitarians' are characterised by the method they employ to gain religious truth, more emphatically than by any system of doctrines whatever."

Finally Dr. Crosskey enunciated as the pith and essence of Unitarian Christianity, that "*the Unitarians are believers in one God*"—"One Spirit, One Power, One Life, pervading, sustaining, guiding all that is."

"*The Unitarians' believe that a noble life is the one supreme requirement of the God they worship.*"

"*In the Religion of 'the Unitarians' this world is regarded as a possible Kingdom of Heaven.*"

"'The Unitarians' accept, with all their hearts

and souls, the sublime fact that the history of man is the history of a progressive being."

*"So far as the Unitarians are true to their faith, they stand in the ranks of the enthusiasts of humanity."*

The story of the relations of Dr. Crosskey with the British and Foreign Unitarian Association is a story of gradually accumulating influence and power, from the time when its Committee refused to sell his publications to the time (1891) when the Association distinguished him above all the ministers of his generation by installing him in that Presidential chair, in which no minister had sat for sixty years and no minister has sat since. With the exception, however, of his year of presidency, his connection with the Association was undoubtedly for the most part of the fighting sort.

He himself sums it up in a few short words in his "Memoranda:" "Introduced on several occasions the question of Sectarianism in Education, viz. during agitation for National Education, and during agitation against Sectarianism in Education (1884). Co-operated with those striving to widen the Association as much as possible, e.g., in the controversy on the publication of Theodore Parker's Works (1876), and in the controversy respecting the erection of a building with dogmatic Trust Deed (Unitarian) for the B. and F. Unitarian Association (1872)."

In these conflicts, and many others, debate often ran high. There was frequent trial of strength, first, between the older and more cautious school of Unitarians and the younger and progressive: secondly, between those whose ideal was a strong Unitarian sect and those whose ideal was a free religious communion unpledged even to Unitarianism itself; and, thirdly, between those who regarded the Association as an instrument for purely theological and ecclesiastical purposes, and those who sought to bring its influence to bear on the great social, moral and political issues of the times. The powerful voice of Dr. Crosskey always pleaded for the broader and more progressive interpretation both of Unitarianism itself and of the functions of the Association, and probably no other man has done so much to win the Association into the Catholic attitude which it assumes to-day towards the social and religious problems of the age.

Manchester New College, now Manchester College, Oxford, declares her independence of any binding relations with Unitarianism still more emphatically than do the Free Churches, so many of which are ministered to by her sons. The College "adheres to its original principle of freely imparting Theological knowledge without insisting on the adoption of particular Theological doctrines." It is a school of "Free Teaching and Free Learning"; and its ideal is, not to instil into the student a particular theology.

but to equip him for a just estimate of all theologies. Neither in theory nor in practice has this broad principle ever been departed from during the century that the College has existed. Nevertheless—or perhaps for that very reason—the College has always been the principal school whence have issued Unitarian preachers. Its management has always been in the hands of men associated by family and environment with Unitarian Christianity. Its professors have long been uniformly Unitarian divines. It is by the interest of Unitarians that it is sustained, and in the public mind it is inextricably associated with Unitarian Christianity,—a mental association altogether indefensible *de jure*, but entirely correct *de facto*.

An *alumnus* of the College in its old Manchester days, Dr. Crosskey ever took a warm interest in its welfare alike as a free school of theology and as the training-place of so many ministers of the Free Churches occupied by the Unitarians. He early became a trustee, and would many years ago have been placed on the Committee of Management had that body met in some more central spot than Manchester. In 1885 he became a Visitor of the College, delivering the "Visitor's Address," in London, in 1887, and Oxford, in 1890. In 1891 he delivered a course of University Extension Lectures, at Oxford, under the auspices of the College, on "the Method of Creation, illustrated by the physical

history of Norway and Great Britain from the Glacial Epoch to the present day." When an Academic Sub-committee was formed with large influence over the scholastic side of College affairs, as Visitor he became a member of it, and rendered invaluable service.

Another institution, closely connected with the fortunes of Unitarian Christianity, in which Dr. Crosskey took the keenest interest and to which he rendered services of the very highest order, was the National Triennial Conference of "Unitarian, Liberal Christian, Free Christian, Presbyterian, and other Non-subscribing or kindred Congregations." It fell to my lot, at the meeting of the Council of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, in June, 1881, to move the resolution which initiated that Conference. Dr. Crosskey and I had conferred on the matter in the morning, and he reserved himself till late in the debate, when he delivered a vigorous and effective speech. All kinds of difficulties and obstacles presented themselves to some members of the Council and were by them presented to the meeting, leading an American visitor to relate to us the comment of a young friend of his on a debate on a similar proposal in the Unitarian Association at Boston: "I guess we shan't get this Conference till we've had a few first-class funerals in Boston." However, happily without any preliminary funerals, first-class or otherwise, the

Conference was next year translated from proposal into fact. Dr. Crosskey became one of the four secretaries, first of the preliminary committee, and afterwards of the permanent institution. It would be difficult to say which did most for the splendid success of these triennial gatherings, his unconquerable enthusiasm or his remarkable faculty of organisation. The title of the Conference, which has caused some bewilderment and no little raillery, was due to him. It is indeed long and cumbrous; but in no shorter string of words could the desired inclusiveness have been expressed, without arousing the scruples of one or other group of constituents as to ecclesiastical nomenclature.

The first Conference was held at Liverpool in April, 1882, and Dr. Crosskey was selected as the man best qualified to expound "the objects of the Conference" at the great *soirée* which thronged the beautiful Philharmonic Hall on the Wednesday evening. Rarely did he deliver a nobler or a more characteristic speech, and I make no apology for transcribing its more important passages. Addressing the Chairman, Mr. David Ainsworth, M.P., Dr. Crosskey said :—" We do not meet, Sir, as vain speculators, only caring for subtle problems of which no solution can be found ;—we do not meet, chiefly desirous of opposing established dogmas, and attacking received beliefs,—we do not act as men who would add another petty creed to the already

multifarious professions of faith-vexing Christendom; but as friends and members of worshipping bodies bound together by old historic associations, and uniting freedom of thought with devoutness of heart. (Applause). We are the representatives of churches which furnish havens of refuge for those who reject many popular dogmas as superstitious, and profess many and varied heresies, but who yet solemnly desire to lift up their souls in worship, and believe that they have a gospel with which to meet the sins and passions of the world, and to establish the Kingdom of God. What purposes do we believe have been accomplished by this Conference? In the first place the theological opinions of those present are extremely diverse—some of us hold one theory touching the composition of the Bible, and others another. Some believe that the great order of nature is the eternal miracle of God; and that any narrative which describes the breaking of that order, and the performance of what is commonly termed a miracle, is but a legend. Some believe in certain theories touching Jesus Christ and his place in the rank of being which others reject. Some turn to the ideal of character that his life presents,—others to the outward signs of physical power and glory that are popularly associated with it. Some hold one theory touching the method of creation, and some of us believe that in Darwin we have a man who stands by the side of Galileo and

Newton in the history of the world. (Applause.) But, Sir, what is the outcome of all our differences but this—one deep common desire for religious fellowship? The first thing we do is to partake together of the Communion, that we may be bound to the spirit of the great Master of Nazareth; and the very first subject we discuss—the one thing that comes uppermost—is the Religious life of our Churches. Wild and random words have been spoken touching the tendencies of the Free Churches of England. They have been charged with becoming agnostic and even atheistic, and strange slanders have been freely flung against them. I am glad to know that many to whom the mystery of the world is dark do worship amongst us. God forbid that we should drive from our places of worship one single soul that finds peace therein. But we scorn to say that we who minister in the Free Churches of England are not agnostics and atheists. It would be like saying that we are not thieves and liars. Those who conduct the devotional services held amongst us are men whose first and last desire it is, to bring the Spirit of God into the hearts of His children. (Hear, hear.) From the interchanges of opinion at this Conference there has resulted a clearer understanding of the special position of the group of Churches it represents. These Churches unite two principles,—the one is the principle that ecclesiastical freedom should be accompanied by the frank



expression of personal belief ; and the other that union in worship must be brought about, not by artificial dogmas, but by natural sympathies. (Hear, hear.) When we assert our freedom, we do not mean that opinions are of no consequence—that an Unitarian cannot say he is an Unitarian because of his freedom, or loses his right, because he is a member of a Free Church, to profess his personal belief. Such a contention, to my mind, would falsify freedom. I am an Unitarian of Unitarians, and because I am a free man, a worshipper in a Free Church, I claim my right to express my personal convictions. In no finite words do we attempt to define the infinite truth of God, but we believe that He is ever revealing Himself to the souls of His children, and that He will guide those who seek Him with the light of His truth. (Hear, hear.) Neither do we consider that there is any necessity for an absolute intellectual agreement in order to secure fellowship of spirit in worship. We do not deny that men and women who have kindred convictions will be naturally disposed to become members of one Church. The ordinary laws of sympathy acting in common life will tend to this result. But we believe that an absolute trust must be placed in the natural sympathies of the soul, and that no set of dogmas can suffice either to give religious fellowship or take it away. Men, we contend, should be left to gather together for

worship, as they may be freely moved by the spirit within, and not be bound together by the hard and harsh ties of external creeds. The heart alone should decide what divergencies of thought can co-exist with religious fellowship. We believe it possible—and appeal to our own Churches as witnesses of the fact—for wide differences of opinion to form no bar to spiritual communion. As men worship together they see more clearly what things are great and what things are small; and the sanctities of the Kingdom of God shine upon them as far exceeding in glory the technicalities of theological debate. (Applause.)

“One other great result of the Conference is this. This Conference has thoroughly established the fact that we are one people—that these non-subscribing Churches of England constitute one body and that there is no probability or possibility of any disunion existing amongst them. (Loud applause.) Some friends think that the stress and strain of our differences are too great for unity; but this Conference has established beyond dispute the fact that we are one in spirit, one in religion, and one in worship, despite our intellectual differences. (Hear, hear.) There are one or two words and phrases which I should be glad to see for ever banished from our vocabulary. Let us no longer speak of the ‘old school’ and of the ‘new school’—of ‘advanced’ Unitarians and of ‘un-

advanced' Unitarians. I know nothing of those divisions. I could not for the life of me say whether I am advanced, or unadvanced, or whether of the old school or of the new. I only know this, that I hold that view of life which shines to me with a divine radiance from the pages of the gospel, and that I seek in the love of God the redemption for human sin. (Hear, hear.) With a world of sin and passion before us; with the great truth of God for us to follow; with His spirit in our hearts.—for God's sake let these war cries of bitter debate pass away from our midst, and let us be one people with one heart and one mind." (Loud applause.)

After an eloquent appeal for fraternal sympathy on the part of the laity towards their ministers, many of whom led very lonely lives, the speaker continued:—

"As one who has been brought up from childhood in these Churches, whose whole life has been spent in giving to them such poor services as his powers could render, I may be permitted to say how I have longed and prayed for the day that has dawned upon us now. I have mourned over our divisions, I have sorrowed over many bitternesses of thought and speech amongst us, but now I hear the melodies of a diviner music conquering all our petty divergencies, and now I know that we are baptised with the one spirit. This is the day of our renewed consecration. People may ask 'What practical

work have you done?' I reply that if we have quickened as we have quickened—religious life; if we have awakened—as we have awakened—religious sympathies, we have opened a fountain of waters that shall heal the troubled life of the world.”

At the third meeting of the Conference, held at Leeds, in 1888, Dr. Crosskey preached the Conference Sermon. He had only been passed over at the Conference of 1885, because that was held in his own city of Birmingham, and he generously preferred that another should there discharge the preacher's function, though I remember well the tones in which he said in Committee: “I should like to preach the Conference sermon once before I die.”

His deliverance at Leeds was memorable. He was deeply impressed with the greatness of the opportunity. It was indeed unique—such as no man can expect twice in a life-time, for the numbers of the Unitarians assembling at these Triennial Conferences, and their representative character, have made them turning-points in the history of the Free Churches. The Leeds Conference, moreover, attracted unusual interest on account of the proposals there to be made by the most illustrious of Unitarians, Dr. Martineau, for the organisation of the Churches represented on a basis approaching the Presbyterian system. Dr. Crosskey accordingly found himself addressing a congregation embracing

all the most influential elements from the constituent Churches throughout the country. His opening sentences at once struck the solemn key which he maintained throughout a sermon of more than ordinary length :

“No more solemn task could be entrusted to a preacher than that which is imposed upon me this evening.

“It is now more than thirty-nine years since I began to teach and preach as a minister of the group of churches, whose representatives, from North and South, and East and West, are now gathered before me.

“Have the chequered experiences of these long years given me any message to bring to this Conference ?

“Ere I speak, I would humbly bow down my soul before that great Spirit, who of old sent one of His seraphim to touch His prophet's lips with living fire from the altar, in beseeching prayer.

“Deliver me, O Lord my God ! from any desire merely to prophecy smooth things that may be acceptable to men's ears.

“Deliver me from the vain dream that such a one as I am, can be a judge of friends and brethren.

“But grant that those thoughts touching these churches and this people, which have grown with my growth, and been strengthened with my strength ; which have been quickened by the sun-

shine of many joys, and watered by the tears of many sorrows, may come to my lips.

“Grant that I may utter faithfully what is within my heart of hearts, even as though this earth and all that is dear and precious within it, were fading from my eyes.

“And O grant, beyond all things, that although I may have little wisdom to guide, yet that my very foolishness of speech may at least serve to warn away from any path that leadeth to destruction.”

The preacher proceeded to elaborate three dominating propositions, “*In a church no substitute can be found for faith in a living God;*” “*We claim freedom for the human mind in the pursuit of Religious Truth;*” “*We attempt to think out a rational system of theology; and would fain persuade the world to accept it.*”

Having touched on the spiritual beauty of the ministry of Christ, he turned to the perils threatening the Churches whose representatives were assembled before him:—

“Our grave and besetting danger is, lest—in the necessity that has been laid upon us to secure our freedom and to apply human reason to the dogmas of the churches, and in our zeal to deny ancient superstitions—a denial that I am the last of men to say should not be made—we should fail to understand how infinitely more important it is to feel the overwhelmingly awful reality of God, than to

reject even the absurdest article of faith; and lest the Lord of life should thus become to us merely the last link in a chain of argument, instead of a Presence and a Power that can not be put by.

“Here we are in this world, through no action of our own. To the Power that placed us in this small star on the outskirts of space, we *must* have a real and not a purely speculative relationship. We ourselves are not Lords of Creation. The universe is in the hands of another Authority than ours—vaster to Infinity. This is a great and indisputable fact. We may call this Supreme Power by whatever name we choose—Jehovah—Jove—Nature—God; but *it is* the ‘I am that I am.’”

Further on in his discourse Dr. Crosskey said:—

“In the near future, problems will have to be solved which are the perplexity of every man with a human heart. Our present social system has no firmer elements of stability in it, than had the age of chivalry. No one can yet say what changes are impending, and how human brotherhood will become a realised fact. But this much is certain—until we truly and devoutly believe, not as a perfunctory doctrine but as a living truth, that all men *are* brethren—no guiding light will fall upon our steps.”

After expatiating on the duties of those before him in such a crisis, the preacher turned to the problem presented by the power and magnitude of the more orthodox denominations, and the temp-

tations offered to many to subscribe to orthodox creeds for the sake of the larger fellowship and the wider influence. Theirs was rather the prophet's harder part:—

“It is one thing and altogether honourable, for men, who through temperament and education find that they can express their religious faith best in the language of old creeds, to use it; it is another, and an unworthy thing, with set and conscious purpose, to use words which the speaker well knows will convey one meaning to one section of his hearers, and the opposite to another.

“Mediators between the present and the past, are of God; and do His work; He also raises up prophets who speak sometimes with fierce energy and always without vagueness, the message that burns within their souls and *will* flame forth from their tongues.

“The prophet must wait long for the fulfilment of his words; he must bear reproach and mockery; often and often will men say to him, ‘Where is thy God?’ He must be prepared to die unheeded and rejected; but without the prophet's faithfulness what would the world's history have been?”

But for them there must be no turning back. They must be strong and of good courage, for God had great work for them to do,—and so on to the brief and noble peroration:—

“I hear—I hear—a voice that seems to my trembling heart to come from a world unseen—

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crying aloud to our churches, however poor, small, disregarded and unhonoured among men they may be, and saying: 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates; yea, lift them up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of Glory shall come in. Who is this King of Glory? The Lord of Hosts, He is the King of Glory.'"

Dr. Crosskey's own theological and ecclesiastical position, as expounded and illustrated in this chapter, rendered it to him an increasing marvel, that men of high and pure integrity could cling, for whatever lofty purposes, to creed-bound Churches, while disbelieving and openly discrediting those creeds. Such men, both in the Church of England and still more in the Scottish Church, he saw prosecuted for their disloyalty to the standards which by their voluntary act they had pledged themselves to respect. While in deepest sympathy with their Liberal sentiments and their spiritual tone, he was unable to justify their position or to charge with bigotry those who sought to hold them to their ecclesiastical contract. I find him accordingly writing in *The Theological Review* for January, 1870, in an article on the Life and Remains of Dr. Robert Lee, not unsympathetically, but very candidly, the following sentences:

"We have in these modern days a new tragedy. It is not the tragedy of man contending against the ruthless destiny of the inexorable gods; it is the

tragedy of man caught within the fine meshes of a net, woven from mingled theological and professional considerations, from which he is honestly unwilling to escape, but which he feels an impediment to the free activities of his nature.

“Dr. Lee accepted office after office, each being subject to ecclesiastical limitations and conditions. He was minister of the Church and Parish of Old Greyfriars, Professor of Biblical Criticism, Dean of the Chapel Royal, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, through no inevitable decree of fate and no necessity, physical, mental or moral. The world is wide and its occupations are many. The mere fact that a man holds such offices, it seems to us, takes away all ground of complaint and protest against those who challenge the soundness of his doctrine and the legality of his forms of prayer. If a man undertake theological responsibilities, his theology becomes, by that very act, a fair matter of debate; and those who question his orthodoxy are not altogether justly condemned as unreasonable bigots. As long as a Church possesses authoritative standards, without the acceptance of which no minister or elder can hold office within its boundaries, those who consider that these standards have been infringed do not exceed their duty in bringing the disputed thoughts or practices to fair and open trial.”

Such were the mind and heart of Henry William Crosskey, preacher of Unitarian Christianity. The

religious communion in which he lived and died, for whose sacred principles he laboured and suffered loss of the honours and distinctions which his character and abilities must elsewhere have won for him, has had no nobler son nor any who by word and life has set forth more luminously the lofty truths for which it stands.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### LIFE AND WORK IN BIRMINGHAM.

#### THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN.

I HAVE said in a previous chapter that the Unitarian minister in a great English city is apt to find many of the doors of ordinary human fellowship practically closed against him. There is one direction, however, in which the way is not barred. So keen is political conflict, that the combatants on neither side can afford to refuse an ally. In many towns and villages throughout England—as well as in the larger centres of population—the Unitarian minister will be found amongst the leaders of political life, raising the tone of the conflict by the elevation of his character and infusing a new vigour into Liberal effort. He is, indeed, often looked on askance at his first appearance. The working-man is suspicious of the “parson,” and the orthodox dissenter, who considers himself “the backbone of the Liberal party,” dreads that the Unitarian’s politics may be tinged by his theology.

But as a rule the Unitarian minister makes headway. His sincerity and honesty gain recognition, his quiet effectiveness is too valuable to be ignored,—very often his ability as a platform speaker brings him to the front. There are, indeed, many Unitarian ministers who feel no call to any activity of the kind; but where they do touch politics they will usually be found amongst the leaders in their locality.

Political life was almost a necessity to Dr. Crosskey. His enthusiasm for human progress and his vivid sense of civic responsibility alike made it hard for him to stand aside where the contest was keen.

The peculiar relation of Birmingham to national politics after 1886, together with his own want of absolute sympathy with either side in the great split within the Liberal ranks, did indeed compel him to hold aloof during the last few years of his life. But for seventeen years he was one of the leading political forces in the Midland capital.

It was to education that he gave the larger part of his civic activity, and the next chapter will comprise a lucid account of his educational work from the pen of one who fought and laboured by his side. But all the great national and municipal issues of the day engaged his interest; and there were few questions in British or in local politics in connection with which he did not speak his word or strike his blow. I am fortunate in being able to present to the reader a sketch of the part he took in Birming-

ham politics contributed to this volume by his eminent friend and colleague, Dr. R. W. Dale.\*

Dr. Dale writes :

“Dr. Crosskey came to Birmingham at a very felicitous time.

“The town was feeling the breath of a new spring. It had long been the home of a rugged type of Liberalism; in 1832 the Birmingham Political Union had threatened to march 100,000 men on London if the Lords rejected the Reform Bill; within a few years after the Bill was past there sprang up a demand for a much wider franchise than that which had been conceded by the Whigs, and the demand was sustained by violent demonstrations which drew the attention of the whole country; for two or three days in 1839 the Bull Ring, which is in the very heart of the town, was held by the rioters. The political passion of the town gradually cooled, but its fires were re-kindled by its great representative Mr. Bright, who year after year delivered

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\* Dr. Dale manifested a keen and generous desire to comply with the request to contribute a sketch of his friend to the present volume. For many months illness absolutely prevented him from carrying out his design. At last, however, in a brief interval of comparative strength, he wrote and sent the contribution printed above, giving pathetic instructions to secure the correction of the proof by a friend familiar with his hand-writing, in the event of his own decease before the occasion arose. That contingency was realised, and the eulogies pronounced on Dr. Dale himself singularly recall his own tribute to Dr. Crosskey.

great speeches in the Town Hall, insisting on the necessity and urgency of Parliamentary Reform.

"But towards the end of the sixties a few Birmingham men made the discovery, that perhaps a strong and able Town Council might do almost as much to improve the conditions of life in the town as Parliament itself. I have called it a 'discovery;' for it had all the freshness and charm—it created all the enthusiasm—of a 'discovery.' One of its first effects was to invest the Council with new attractiveness and dignity. Able men and men of considerable social position had already discharged municipal duties, but very many of their colleagues were of a very inferior order. It now became the ambition of young men, and cultivated men, and men of high social position to represent a ward and to become aldermen and mayors. The weaker and less effective members of the Corporation were gradually dropped and their places filled by men of quite a new type. The November ward meetings assumed a new character. The speakers, instead of discussing small questions of administration and of economy, dwelt with glowing enthusiasm on what a great and prosperous town like Birmingham might do for its people. They spoke of sweeping away streets in which it was not possible to live a healthy and decent life; of making the town cleaner, sweeter, and brighter; of providing gardens and parks and music; of erecting baths and free libraries, an art gallery and a museum. They

insisted that great monopolies like the gas and water supply should be in the hands of the Corporation; that good water should be supplied without stint at the lowest possible prices; that the profits of the gas supply should relieve the pressure of the rates. Sometimes an adventurous orator would excite his audience by dwelling on the glories of Florence and of the other cities of Italy in the middle ages, and suggest that Birmingham, too, might become the home of a noble literature and art.

“The original creation of this new spirit was, I believe, due to the late Mr. George Dawson, more than to any other man. He had always been a Liberal and a Liberal of an extreme type; but his Liberalism had its idiosyncrasies. He was not a good party man. He was a very candid friend. He never worked well in harness. He had no great faith in the results of mere political reforms. He had learnt from Mr. Carlyle that ‘the condition of England question’ required deeper remedies. For some years he had been teaching that unless the best and ablest men in a community were willing to serve it, new laws could not work any great reformation; and that it was the duty of those who derived their prosperity and opportunities of culture from the community to become its servants.

“Mr. Dawson was the ‘prophet’ of the new movement. “But Mr. Dawson had not the kind of faculty necessary for putting his generous faith into practice.



This was largely done by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who a little while before Dr. Crosskey came to Birmingham began to show proof of those great powers, which have since been recognised by the nation. Mr. Chamberlain gave himself to the municipal work with a contagious enthusiasm. He did not merely enter the Council, give a large amount of time and strength to its committees, make striking and eloquent speeches on the new municipal policy; he used his social influence to add strength to the movement. He appealed in private to men of ability who cared nothing for public life, and he showed how much they might do for the town if they would go into the Council: he insisted that what they were able to do, it was their duty to do. He dreamt dreams and saw visions of what Birmingham might become, and resolved that he, for his part, would do his utmost to fulfil them. The new movement was fortunate in securing, from the first, the able support and wise guidance of the *Birmingham Daily Post*. Its editor, Mr. Bunce, was the trusted friend and adviser of the leaders and the intimate personal friend of the most important of them. Through the columns of the most powerful newspaper in the Midland Counties the new ideas about municipal life and duty were pressed on the whole community.

“It was just as this good time, with all its radiant hopefulness, with all its joy and buoyancy, was

beginning, that Dr. Crosskey became minister of the Church of the Messiah. Among those associated with the Church were Mr. Chamberlain himself and some of the ablest of the men who were co-operating with him. To Dr. Crosskey the atmosphere that he found among his immediate friends was exhilarating—almost intoxicating. November after November in the municipal contests, and all the year through, whenever there was a chance of preaching the municipal gospel, he pleaded with pathetic earnestness and with passion for the new policy.

“When the contests were on, he went to two or three meetings night after night in the obscurest parts of the town, and appealed, as for his own life, for the return of the right men. His intensity was astonishing. He spoke as if the whole fate of the town depended on the result of the ward election. To him nothing was insignificant that contributed to the triumph of the good cause—nothing was insignificant that delayed its triumph. He related everything to the great principles which rule the destiny of nations; he saw in every falling apple the force which determines the orbits of the planets and binds sun to sun and system to system through all the realms of space. His imagination was always ready to kindle, when he was speaking on behalf of measures which might contribute to the health of the poor, or add cheerfulness and brightness to their monotonous lives. It was wonderful

to watch him as he took wing and sailed into the blue skies, while he was addressing eighty or a hundred working people in a badly-lighted room in the depths of the town. I do not suppose that they always understood him; but they do not understand the stars and the clouds, and yet when the smoke is not too heavy it is good for them to watch the splendour of a sunset beyond their tall chimneys, and to look up from their narrow courts and see the constellations moving slowly over their little patch of sky. And Dr. Crosskey's speeches—those which they least understood—did them good in the same way; and whether they understood him or not, they always felt that he was a man who was their friend and was immensely excited in his anxiety to serve them; that, too, it was good for them to know.

“Of course, Dr. Crosskey, like the rest of us, could at times tramp along the dusty road of statistics and finance—could reply to the speakers on the other side—argue laboriously—give practical directions as to how the fight was to be won. All this is taken for granted. If you want your candidate to be returned you must make your case plain to the rudest understanding; and Dr. Crosskey was always very much in earnest about getting his candidate returned; but what was characteristic of him was the imagination, the passion, the vehemence, which were as easily called

forth by an audience of a hundred as by an audience of three or four thousand.

“His great qualities found their highest expression in the service which he rendered to Education. When he came to Birmingham, the National Education League was in the zenith of its power, and the controversies which it had created in every part of the kingdom were at their fiercest. Now that the School Board system has existed for nearly a quarter of a century it is difficult to conceive of the furious resistance which was provoked by the proposal (1) to create local authorities which should supply all deficiencies in the provision for elementary education; (2) to make attendance at school compulsory; (3) to abolish school fees; (4) to make the education in Board Schools unsectarian.\* Magistrates declared that if a man was ever brought before them for failing to send his children to school they would refuse to convict. The country was warned that, if the children who were playing in the streets or who were earning a couple of shillings a week as green-grocers' errand boys were sent to schools where there was no definite religious teaching, the religious life of the country would be subjected to serious peril; and, strange to say, there

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\* The original proposal of the League was to provide for the reading of the Bible in the school without note or comment; this was modified after the passing of the Act of 1870 for the more logical position, that the Board Schools should provide only the secular elements of education.

are still people who believe that the moral and religious condition of the country has been seriously injured—not by the diminution in the numbers of children attending schools which are under the control of Christian Churches—but by the transfer of children from the gutters and workshops to schools which are under the control of the rate-payers. The members of the League were fiercely assailed as the enemies of freedom and of religion. When the agitation was at its height I happened to be preaching in Bristol for the Bible Society: at the close of the service, as the congregation was breaking up, a gentleman was heard to say to his neighbour, ‘Is that Dale of Birmingham? I thought he was an atheist;’ he appeared to find some difficulty in reconciling the sermon to which he had listened with what he had learnt about the preacher from the opponents of the League.

“Dr. Crosskey, as soon as he came to Birmingham, flung himself with immense ardour into the movement. He served on the Executive of the League: he wrote fly-leaves for it; and he soon became known in Birmingham, and in every part of the country, as one of its most fiery orators. I think that he enjoyed the storm of hostilities which he had to confront. I think that he exulted in it. It certainly never troubled him for a moment. The rougher the wind and the waves, the more buoyant he became. When the Bill of 1870 became law, and

the first and most vital demand of the League—the demand for local authorities which should supply all deficiencies in elementary school accommodation—was conceded, he accepted the triumph cheerfully, but his zeal for the remaining parts of the League programme was unquenched.

“In the course of a few years he was elected a member of the Birmingham School Board and took a very large share of its work; first as chairman of the Sites and Buildings Committee and afterwards as chairman of the School Management Committee. In these offices he showed a patience and industry still more admirable than the enthusiasm which had made him so conspicuous as an agitator. The same qualities were exhibited by him as a Governor of King Edward’s School—a great foundation for secondary and higher education.

“I came to know him and to know him well very soon after his settlement in the town. He and I were joint-secretaries of the Central Nonconformist Committee which was constituted early in 1870 to secure amendments in Mr. Forster’s Education Bill, and to protect the rights of Nonconformists in new schemes issued by the Charity Commissioners for the administration of Charitable Trusts. I also sat with him on the Management Committee of the Birmingham Liberal Association in the days when that Association was a great political power; and we were colleagues on the

Birmingham School Board and the Governing Body of King Edward's Schools. He was always ardent: always vigilant; never weary; seldom depressed. His temperature was at 'summer heat' all the year round. With him the sun was always in the meridian, and the sky cloudless. To those of us whose temperament was more phlegmatic, this un-failing enthusiasm was amazing; we sometimes bantered him upon the vehemence with which he proved what seemed to us small matters; he laughed cheerily; and, I dare say, thought that we were a set of Laodiceans; but his fires continued to burn as hot as before. Advancing years and physical suffering did nothing to lessen his ardour. One of the last speeches that I heard from him was at a dinner given to celebrate the victory of 'The Liberal Eight' at the School Board election in 1891. In the pathos with which he spoke of the children whom the State had too long neglected, in the enthusiastic joy with which he dwelt on the work of the School Board, in the passion of thankfulness which he expressed for having been permitted to share that work, he reached a height of eloquence which, it seemed to me, surpassed all that I had heard from him in his most vigorous years; and his visions of what might still be done for the children of the nation had all the glow of his enthusiastic youth.

"I saw a great deal of him in private. He was my own friend and my children's friend. We all

loved him. His frankness, his courage, his kindness, his cheerfulness, drew our hearts to him. He was transparently honest, and was eager to be just. His pity for the wretched, and his deep and intense desire to secure for the children of the poorest classes of the community free access to the realms of intellectual light and freedom, were as apparent in his private life as in his platform speeches.

"Between him and myself there were wide differences of theological belief, the importance of which neither he nor I depreciated. We occasionally discussed these differences, but, I suppose, without making any nearer intellectual approach to each other. He had been a student under Dr. Martineau, and used to speak to me of his old master with the warmest affection and the deepest admiration. In the spirit and temper of his religious life, Dr. Martineau's influence over him was very apparent; but there were strong contrasts between their intellectual interests.

"Dr. Crosskey did not, I think, care very much either for theology or philosophy; his great intellectual delight was in natural science—especially in geology. There were questions of dogma and criticism on which it was necessary for him to reach some definite conclusions; but as soon as he had made up his mind on these points, he was glad to escape to what seemed to him more congenial intellectual latitudes. Enterprising discoverers are

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anxious to learn what they can about the regions lying near the north pole; but they do not care to live there. This seemed to me to be very much Dr. Crosskey's temper with regard to biblical criticism and dogma. It was a relief to him to get away to questions about the boulders and to the glaciers of Switzerland and Scotland.

"Ardent as was his temperament he never spoke in heat, when we were discussing theological topics. While his intellectual position was strangely antagonistic to the traditional creeds of the great Churches, he was attracted by all that is reverential, devout and gracious in their spiritual life. He liked to argue that on some of the points in which his theology seemed most definitely opposed to 'orthodoxy,' he was in real and substantial agreement with it. At times there was something pathetic in this contention.

"But in saying anything about Dr. Crosskey's religious faith I am probably encroaching on ground which more properly belongs to some other writer in this Memoir, who has a much better right than I to discuss it. For myself I was anxious to have the opportunity of expressing my admiration for him as an able, fearless, upright, enthusiastic comrade in public work, and my strong affection for him as a private friend."

It will be well to supplement Dr. Dale's invaluable account by transcribing from Dr. Crosskey's own

MS. "Memoranda" all the notes that appear under the heading "Liberal Association."

"Became a member immediately on residing in Birmingham.

"Was present at the meeting when it was resolved (chiefly at the instance of Chamberlain) that the Association should interfere with municipal elections and attempt to secure the adoption of a 'Liberal policy' in the government of the town. Previously its work had been confined to parliamentary elections.

"Was elected one of the original members of the 'Management Committee,' and served on it without intermission, until my resignation on account of differences of opinion on the Irish question.

"Took part in the series of contested elections which followed the adoption of the new policy of the Liberal Association, and which resulted in the securing of a Liberal majority and the election of J. Chamberlain as Mayor.

"For many subsequent years—so long as a 'Liberal policy' in municipal government involved contests with the Conservatives—took part in the November municipal elections on behalf of the Liberal candidates.

"This 'Liberal policy' was not a mere question of 'party,' and to its adoption is due almost all that is most valuable in the institutions and public life of modern Birmingham.

"It embraced—

"1. Sanitary Reform :

"The wells of the town were terribly polluted and dwellings unfit for habitation abounded untouched. Zymotic diseases prevailed to a fearful extent. The Liberal policy carried into execution has brought about an extraordinary decrease in the death-rate of Birmingham, i.e., it has saved thousands of lives as well as protected thousands from disease.

"2. A Town Improvement Scheme.

"Closely connected with Sanitary Reform was Chamberlain's great Improvement Scheme, which brought about the destruction of many vile buildings and the conversion of a large insanitary into a 'sanitary' area, together with the extension of business facilities in the new streets that were formed.

"3. The more extended provision of such civilising agencies as

The Free Libraries,

The School of Art,

The Art Gallery,

and making them more useful and more acceptable to the people at large.

"4. The purchase by the town of the 'Gas' and 'Water,' so that the profit from the Gas might help to pay for the cost of 'its' improvement, and that the water might be copious, accessible and pure.

"5. The provision of Public Parks and Recreation Grounds.

"The Liberal policy was a policy of civilisation. It meant the enjoyment by the great mass of people of the blessing of a beautiful and civilised life.

"Its ultimate adoption was no doubt due in chief measure to the power and administrative genius (I do not think a less word can be used) of J. Chamberlain.

"The struggle to obtain the triumph of this policy over the conservatism, timidity and prejudice of the rulers of Birmingham under the old *régime*—men who were accustomed to meet and arrange the affairs of the town at a well-known Public House—was fierce and laborious. It has already (1893), however, become so much a matter of 'ancient history' and is so generally accepted, that few of our younger men know how much toil and trouble were needed to accomplish the task.

"Wrote two articles on 'Birmingham Liberal Association' published in Macmillan's Magazine.

"During the election of 1873 I edited 'The Liberal' for the Liberal Association.

"Engaged strenuously in the agitation against the threatened war with Russia on behalf of the Turks, of which there was the greatest danger under Disraeli's Government.

"Became Vice-president of Liberal Association in 1887.

"Resigned seat on Management Committee (as already stated) on account of differences of opinion

on Irish question; but continue a member of the Association.

"All my sympathies being with 'Liberals' on ninety-nine questions out of a hundred, it was impossible for me to support the intimate alliance of the newly-formed 'Liberal Unionist Association' with the Tories; and I am still 'out in the cold.' Moreover, the Liberal municipal policy being practically adopted by all parties, I determined to concentrate the time and strength I could spare from my Church work, on the Educational affairs of the town. Education being my deepest interest and my position on the School Board demanding with clamant emphasis all my energies."

In the articles in *Macmillan*, above referred to, Dr. Crosskey thus describes the life and action of the Birmingham Liberal Association in its days of aggressive youth:—

"Time, trouble and thought were not simply spent, but lavished in Birmingham—by not a few men beyond the limits of health and strength—to persuade the people at large that political interests are the interests of civilisation in its broadest sense. The improvements of the dwellings of the poor; the promotion of temperance; the multiplication of libraries and art galleries; the management of grammar schools, as well as public elementary schools, were all discussed as questions of Liberal politics, that is, as questions which challenge the

organized action of the community through its various representative assemblies. The problem presented was how to obtain an intelligent adhesion to a policy of public improvement as well as a vote for a Parliamentary candidate. It was decided that the Liberal party, as a party of avowed Liberals, should, if possible, secure a working majority in every representative body connected with the borough. The proposal was not adopted without considerable opposition. It was asserted that 'politics' had nothing to do with municipal affairs. It was replied that 'politics' must be held to include the principles by which free men can be fittingly governed, and that, consequently, every organization existing for the purposes of government *must* of necessity be directly influenced by political differences. A municipality contains, like the House of Commons, the party of progress and the party which would keep things as they are; the party which would remove abuses firmly, and the party which has more Conservative patience with them; the party which would mark its rule by improvements, and the party which instinctively resists change. In the Council of a town, which is almost a state in size and importance, men (it was urged) are wanted who will stand on the same side of Liberal progress in municipal matters that Liberal members of the House of Commons take on national affairs, and who will make the town as great in its educational

and scientific institutions as it is in commercial activity, and address themselves earnestly to the removal of preventible causes of ignorance, disease, and crime. And further on Dr. Crosskey says:—

“The ‘Liberal Association’ is an agency through which men who believe in the possibility of a higher state of civilisation than now exists—who have faith in realizable ideals—have attempted and are attempting to carry out clear and definite plans for the culture, happiness and prosperity of the community.”

Two years earlier, in 1875, he had said:—

“The awful shadows of ignorance and pauperism fall darkly upon our country. Boast of our civilisation as we may, life to thousands of our fellow countrymen and countrywomen is a heavy and weary burden; and many of their miseries could be uplifted by a fair application of resources now employed for ecclesiastical purposes. In town and country, those who labour for social improvement are hampered by the fear of resistless opposition should the rates be raised. When the standard of education is kept miserably low, lest it should become too costly; when dens, which generate that physical pestilence which, in its turn brings forth moral death, cannot be thoroughly cleansed lest another penny in the pound should be added to our taxes; when numberless labourers on the soil have no chance of becoming intelligent men, through the sordidness of their

surroundings,—we are bound to ask, in the name of justice and humanity, whether those who love God cannot and ought not to pay the cost of worshipping Him; and whether the resources of England cannot be more thoroughly applied towards lightening these national burdens, which so miserably interfere with the general enjoyment, not only of the higher graces, but of the simplest necessities of civilised existence?"

But never perhaps did this noble Christian citizen more tersely state the essence of his creed in politics municipal than in these words spoken at the celebration of the centenary of the Birmingham Library, in 1879:—

"The greatness of a nation depends upon the greatness of its town life. Not only is the detail of local affairs ill managed at a distance, but men can best be trusted to govern wisely when they are most thoroughly put in charge of their own affairs."

Under the general heading, "Public Work," Dr. Crosskey, in his "Memoranda" enumerates several spheres of activity besides those offered by the Liberal Association and the School Board during his Birmingham life. He sets at the head the Proprietary School, and his notes on it run thus:—

"Member of Managing Committee soon after coming to Birmingham.

"Assisted in arranging its transfer to 'King Edward School' Governors, when the public control



and liberality of that foundation rendered the 'Proprietary School' no longer necessary. The Proprietary School was originally founded largely by Unitarians, in order to secure an education of an unsectarian and liberal character,—liberal, that is, intellectually as well as ecclesiastically.

"When the scheme of the Charity Commissioners was adopted for the King Edward's School foundation, and a new and more generous policy enforced and the Schools were developed on the 'modern' side, while the element of public control was introduced, there remained no reason for keeping up the Proprietary School as an independent institution.

"The 'Five Ways' King Edward School carries out the intention of its founders.

"All my boys were scholars in the Proprietary School; and Leo held the Middlemore Exhibition for Cambridge."

The "Memoranda" then describe Dr. Crosskey's relations with the Liberal Association, as above. He next records his presidency of the Birmingham Women's Liberal Association, and his motion at the Leeds meeting of the National Liberal Federation on behalf of Woman's Suffrage as a plank of the Liberal policy. Such a motion on such an occasion called for no little courage and determination. It was carried after debate, and the mover received the most enthusiastic thanks from many eminent women interested in the cause. Unhappily, men

combining like conviction with equal courage have not been found on the Federation platform since, and the "plank" has been allowed to drop out of the official "platform" of the party.

The "Memoranda" then record Dr. Crosskey's election as a representative for Birmingham on the Council of the National Liberal Federation and his further appointment as one of its small Managing Committee.

Of the National Education League Dr. Crosskey records that he joined its Executive Committee immediately after coming to Birmingham, and "regularly attended all meetings and took part in all its work."

Under the heading "Central Nonconformist Committee," we read in the "Memoranda:" "As the work of this Committee extended, a paid secretary was needed. Went with Dale to a small draper's shop and engaged its owner, Mr. Schnadhorst, for part of his time daily. This was the first introduction of Schnadhorst into public life. The engagement was soon enlarged to embrace all his time. From being Secretary of Central Nonconformist Committee, Schnadhorst became Secretary of Liberal Association,"—an interesting glimpse of the beginning of a most notable career.

Later on we read: "Attended almost every debate in the House of Commons on the Education Bill of 1870; and with Dale drew up many of the amend-

ments [for?] Committee. As a representative of the Nonconformists, always had a seat 'under the gallery' in the House."

Dr. Crosskey subsequently also took part in the opening proceedings and foundation of the National Education Association, and joined the Executive Committee.

Under the heading "Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Control," Dr. Crosskey records that he was on the Executive Committee and was "one of special committee with Miall for drawing up the Scheme of Disestablishment. In the preparation of this scheme, counsel were consulted, and it was placed in the hands of a Parliamentary draughtsman to be put in a form that could be embodied practically in an Act of Parliament. Were any ministry to give this scheme to a draughtsman, it could be embodied in a Bill."

For the Liberation Society Mr. Crosskey wrote, in 1875, a pamphlet to support the thesis that the Endowments of the Church of England are national property, from which I may present the following quotations:—

"In examining the right of the nation," he writes, "to deal with ecclesiastical endowments, I propose to state in a series of propositions, as clearly and distinctly as possible, the positions for which I contend; ranging beneath them such antagonistic theories as it may prove essential to notice. I shall

not argue the question as a matter of 'generous' treatment, but as one of right. It will be time to consider what is generous when we understand what is just. If we attempt to decide upon the generous method of treating endowments before we fairly understand the extent of the nation's claims, we shall not only wrong the manliness of our opponents, who surely desire, as we desire, that whatever is right shall be done, and are not in any way to be regarded as suppliants craving for mercy; but we shall fail to gain for ourselves any knowledge either of what is generous or what is just. Neither shall I discuss possible compromises which it may be, or may not be, necessary to make, in order to carry a Disendowment Bill through the House of Commons. If we begin with propounding schemes of compromise, we shall end with losing everything for the sake of which we fancied compromise desirable. Great reformatations have never been achieved by men too timid to state the principles for which they were willing to live and die. The mediators, without the prophets, would have made poor work of the world's history."

\* \* \* \* \*

"My first proposition is:—That what is popularly, and for convenience, termed the 'Church of England' is, in reality, the State exercising ecclesiastical functions; and that, therefore, whenever the State determines no longer to exercise those ecclesiastical

functions, no institution which may be organised by individual Episcopalians, and called the Church of England, will have any right to claim the revenues which have been devoted to religious purposes, under the direction of the State, as its own private property."

"My next proposition is:—That no special claim upon church property can be established against the nation at large by certain Christians personally attached to episcopalian forms. On the 19th May, 1662, the assent of Charles II. was given to an Act 'for the uniformity of public prayers, and administration of sacraments and other rites and ceremonies, and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons in the Church of England.'"

After laying down the further propositions on which his argument was based, Mr. Crosskey summed up thus:—

"On the following grounds, therefore,—

"1st. That what is termed the 'Church of England' is the State exercising ecclesiastical functions, and that this Church does not constitute, either legally or historically, a corporate body, entitled, of its own right, to ecclesiastical endowments;

"2nd. That the property now devoted to the sustenance of what is called the Church of England, is trust property held from the State, and not private property, like an estate appertaining to an

individual, or an endowment given to a Dissenting Church, or a donation received by a special charitable institution ;

“3rd. That a large proportion of the sum now devoted to ecclesiastical uses has been obtained through the direct action of the common laws, and that special endowments bestowed by individual donors have been both given to and accepted by a State institution without any reserved conditions of private proprietorship ;

“4th. That those individual Christians who are Episcopalians have obtained their exclusive position as the result of direct acts of persecution, and can therefore establish no exclusive right to the property they administer,—I claim the whole of the ecclesiastical endowments now administered by the State-Church as the property of the people of England, to be dealt with, according to their pleasure, by their representatives in Parliament assembled.”

This powerful essay closed with these striking and emphatic words :

“ We may be denounced as robbers, laying sacrilegious hands upon the Temple of the Lord. In sober truth, we are the defenders of people’s rights against the assertors of sectarian privileges, and the advocates of the cause of the ignorant, the poor, and the needy, whose lives could be made so much brighter, purer, and nobler, if the great resources of England could be won from the hands of eccle-

siastics, and devoted to purposes conducive to the well-being of the nation at large."

Dr. Crosskey enumerates among the other items of his public work in Birmingham the examiner-ship in geology at the Midland Institute, his position on the Technical School Committee of the Town Council as representative of the School Board, his position on the Board of Governors of the King Edward Schools as representative of the Town Council, which led to his appointment as Deputy-Bailiff in 1891, and as Bailiff in 1892, his Presidency of the Natural History Society in 1873, his part in founding the Birmingham Philosophical Society and his Presidency thereof in 1886-7, his chairmanship of the Women's Hospital, his Pargeter trusteeship, his trusteeship for Piddock's Charity and his part in obtaining a new scheme of administration from the Charity Commissioners, his chairmanship of the Birmingham Old Library in the year of its centenary, 1879, his secretaryship of the British Association for the Birmingham meeting in 1866, and his membership of certain special scientific sub-committees thereof.

Truly an astonishing array of public work for a man who all the while was the honoured and successful minister of a large and influential congregation! It is a pleasure to close this account of the political and philanthropic activity of the Minister of the Church of the Messiah with the

following testimony sent to me by his friend the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain:—

“Speaking generally,” writes Mr. Chamberlain, “I may say that in all his public relations, Dr. Crosskey showed himself to be a man of great ability and conspicuous honesty of purpose. He had a clear grasp of principles, and displayed courage and resolution in maintaining them on all occasions. He was a most zealous worker, and never spared himself in any cause to which he devoted his energy.

“I ought to add that while in some sense he made a religion of his politics, and actively promoted the political views which he believed to be right and true, he never allowed his political work to interfere with his obligations as a Christian minister, and every member of his congregation could always count on his active help and hearty sympathy.”







CHURCH OF THE ...  
...





**CHURCH OF THE MESSIAH, BIRMINGHAM.**  
**(INTERIOR).**



## CHAPTER IX.

EDUCATIONAL WORK IN BIRMINGHAM, 1869-1892.

*By the Rev. E. F. M. MacCurthy, M.A., Vice-Chairman of the Birmingham School Board.*

AS early as in the year 1851, Dr. Crosskey had publicly identified himself with an advanced movement in the direction of better and enlarged means of popular education by taking part in the formation of the 'National Public School Association' started in that year with the object of 'promoting the establishment by law in England and Wales of a system of Free Schools—which, supported by local rates and managed by local committees specially elected for that purpose by the ratepayers, should impart secular instruction only, leaving to parents, guardians and religious teachers the inculcation of doctrinal religion, to afford opportunities for which the schools should be closed at stated times in each week.' This was the solid basis on which Dr. Crosskey fixed the foundations of his educational creed, and from which he was never shaken during all the throes of the conflict

that ensued. The system of national education which it propounded was to be, first and foremost, a secular system, which 'should preserve inviolate the rights of conscience and confine itself to such moral, intellectual and physical discipline as by developing the faculties and forming the character might aid in making good and happy men and useful members of society.'

In 1854, he joined the Glasgow Public School Association, which advocated a similar scheme for a national system of education.

On his advent to Birmingham in the autumn of 1869 to take up the ministry of the Church of the Messiah, Dr. Crosskey found the leaders of thought in that town in earnest conference on the necessity of the immediate establishment of a national system which should secure the education of every child in the country. With characteristic energy and enthusiasm he at once threw himself into this movement, of which the immediate outcome was the formation of the National Education League. He was elected a member of the first Committee of this League; and, along with Mr. George Dixon, the Chairman, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Mr. Collings, Mr. Bunce, Mr. Harris and others, took an active share in the struggle which followed, to obtain for every child unsectarian schools, aided by local rates, under the management of local authorities, to which admission should be free and attendance at which

should be compulsory. Early in the following year, the Elementary Education Bill of the Government (Mr. Gladstone's) was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. W. E. Forster. Of all the provisions of the Bill, none was more strongly opposed by the League, and especially by its Nonconformist supporters, than that which proposed to give local boards unrestricted power to determine the character of the religious instruction in rate-supported schools. Another body having similar objects to the League, but designed to give more definite expression to the sentiments of Nonconformists throughout the Kingdom, had just been started, under the name of the Central Nonconformist Committee, with Mr. W. Middlemore as chairman, and Dr. Dale and Dr. Crosskey as joint honorary secretaries, and this Committee naturally took an important share in the agitation against this objectionable provision of the Education Bill. On the 11th April, a deputation from this Committee had an interview with the Prime Minister, and personally protested against Mr. Forster's proposal.

The agitation however failed to deter the Government from its purpose, and the only concession made to the intense feeling against the proposal was that offered by Mr. Gladstone on going into Committee on the Bill, when he announced the decision of the Government to accept Mr. Cowper-Temple's amendment (since known as the Cowper-



Temple Clause), which provided "that in all schools established by means of local rates, no religious catechism or religious formulary which was distinctive of any particular denomination should be taught." (Educ. Act 1870 sec. 14).

The Bill received the Royal Assent on the 9th of August, 1870, and steps were forthwith taken in Birmingham to secure the election of a School Board at the earliest possible moment. The General Committee of the Birmingham Liberal Association met in the Town Hall and nominated fifteen Candidates for the fifteen seats on the Board, of whom Dr. Crosskey was one. This meeting passed a resolution which showed the attitude of the Liberal Fifteen towards the religious question that had been left to be the bone of local contention at school board elections, and which also served as its 'platform' for the election. This was to the effect that 'the only satisfactory solution of the religious difficulty was that the Bible should be read daily in the Schools without note or comment of a sectarian character.' On the other hand their opponents, the eight "Bible" Candidates, as they styled themselves, maintained that 'the Bible should be read in rate-aided schools and that no restrictions should be imposed on teachers but those provided by the Act,' and that 'the Bible should be taught as well as read without reference to creeds or catechisms peculiar to any sect.'

The contest that ensued in November was a memorable one, resulting as it did, owing to the operation of the novel principle of voting known as the 'cumulative vote,' in the return of the whole of the "Bible" Eight, one Roman Catholic, and only six of the Liberal Fifteen; and this, in spite of the fact that the majority of votes and of voters was in favour of the Liberals. Though Dr. Crosskey was not one of the six who were returned, he was as strenuous and indefatigable an opponent outside the School Board of the policy of the majority of that Board, as the Liberal minority was, round the table of the Board itself. There was another clause in the Education Act of 1870 besides the Cowper-Temple Clause which met with the determined hostility of educational Liberals, and that was the 25th Clause, which provided that the School Board might pay the school fees of any child whose parents were unable from poverty to pay them, at any public elementary school selected by the parents. This raised the question of contribution from the rates towards the support of denominational schools at the option of a School Board. The majority of the Birmingham School Board representing principally the Church party, and favourable, therefore, to payments from the rates towards the maintenance of Church Schools, proposed to avail themselves of the permissive powers of this Clause and passed a resolution accordingly. The agitation

against the Education Act and against the action of the School Board in availing itself of the powers of the 25th Clause at once recommenced. At a meeting in the Town Hall, Dr. Crosskey proposed a resolution expressing "the irreconcilable hostility of the meeting to the proposal of the Birmingham School Board to use the rates for the payment of the fees of indigent children attending denominational schools, believing that to increase the amount voted to these schools from public funds was contrary to a sound educational policy, and must repress the development of an efficient and national system of education, and that this new appropriation of public money to the maintenance of religious dogmas of rival Churches was contrary to the principle which should guide the legislation of the country and would be regarded by a large number of the ratepayers as a violation of the rights of conscience."

Such, and so deeply grounded on the principles of religious liberty, was the conviction of Dr. Crosskey's mind on this question of the 25th Clause.

The Birmingham Town Council supported the minority on the School Board in their endeavour to prevent the majority of the Board from using the powers given it by this Clause, and refused to honour the precept of the School Board for £13,500 for the expenses of the year 1873! but it was subsequently required to do so by mandamus from the

Court of Queen's Bench. A crisis was imminent, which would doubtless have resulted, as was actually the case in some other towns, in distraints for the school board rate upon many ratepayers who expressed their determination not to pay this "new church-rate" on conscientious grounds. Fortunately, however, for the peace of the town, the triennial election of a School Board, due in November, was imminent, and a return of a Liberal majority was expected, which would completely alter the situation of affairs. The whole energies of the League and its supporters in Birmingham were now directed to that contest, and Dr. Crosskey devoted every moment of his spare time to the task of arousing public attention to the principle involved in it. On this occasion it was determined to circumvent the operation of the cumulative vote by running just a sufficient number of Candidates to secure the majority of the Board, and eight Candidates only were nominated. Accordingly Dr. Crosskey stood aside for a time. The platform of the Liberal Eight in 1873 differed from that in 1870 in one very important particular, which should here be noted. The League programme had proposed that the education in rate-supported schools should be "unsectarian," and the Liberal Candidates for the School Board election of 1870, in interpreting this for Birmingham, had advocated "Bible reading without note or comment of a sectarian

character." But the attitude of the denominational party in this and the other large towns of the country had convinced the members of the League that there was no security for religious freedom except in the complete severance of religious instruction from the secular, and that the community, including persons of every shade of religious belief, could only be justly called upon to bear the cost of the secular part of education. It was felt also—and the feeling was strongly entertained by Dr. Crosskey—that the unsectarian position was wanting in a sound logical standpoint. The consequence was that in 1872 the League decided upon the "secular" in place of the "unsectarian" platform; and the Liberal Eight in the Birmingham School Board contest of 1873 appealed for the suffrages of the ratepayers as advocates of a purely secular education in schools under local control.

With that platform the triumph of the Liberal Eight was complete and emphatic. They were returned at the head of the poll by large majorities. At once the regulations of the previous Board were rescinded by the School Board, and resolutions were passed to enable any minister of religion or any religious organization to impart religious instruction in the Board Schools by means of voluntary agency.

The following is a copy of the Regulations which were laid down by the School Board elected in 1873, and which have remained in force to this day (1895):—

"Facilities will be afforded for the giving of religious instruction by voluntary agency in the school buildings belonging to the Board to children attending the Board Schools.

"In every case the wish of the Parents or Guardians shall determine whether a child shall receive religious instruction, and whether a child shall receive any specific religious instruction that may be provided.

"Any person proposing to give religious instruction shall be required to pay to the Board a rent for the use of the Buildings.\*

"The opportunity for giving religious instruction shall be given on Tuesday and Friday mornings in every week.

"The schools shall open, under the management of the Board, not more than three-quarters of an hour later, when let for religious teaching, than on other days.

"Any application for the use of the school buildings for the giving of religious instruction, in accordance with these regulations, shall be referred to the Sites and Buildings Committee for them to report to the Board, with the understanding that these applications may be made either :—

(1) By the Committee of any Society representing one or more of the religious communities of the town, or

(2) By Ministers of religion in charge of congregations in the town, or

(3) By any person willing to give religious instruction, when the application is sustained by the signatures of the parents of at least 20 children in regular attendance at one of the departments of any Board School."

In 1875, two vacancies on the School Board had been created, by resignation and death, and, as

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\* The rent is now (1895) five shillings per annum for each department (boys', girls', or infants') for each morning in the week.

three candidates were nominated, it became necessary to hold a bye-election (one of the last of the kind. as the Education Act of 1876 enabled casual vacancies to be filled up by the co-optation of the remaining members of the Board). The Rev. E. F. M. MacCarthy, who, though a clergyman of the Church of England, was an advocate of the secular platform, was returned at the head of the poll by an overwhelming majority, and became one of the Liberal Eight. One important consequence of this election was that a contest was avoided at the triennial election of the following year (1876). It was on this occasion that Dr. Crosskey was elected as a member of the School Board. At the first meeting of the new Board he was appointed Chairman of the Sites and Buildings Committee, which position he held until November, 1881, when, on the division of the Education and School Management Committee into two Committees, he was appointed Chairman of the School Management Committee. He continued to discharge the important and absorbing duties of this post until his resignation in September, 1892.

During his sixteen years of continuous work on the School Board, Dr. Crosskey took a prominent part in the advocacy of the principles which he had maintained as a member of the League. Various attempts were made by the minority to restore Bible Teaching in the schools, all of which he

strenuously resisted. A few months after his election, a prominent member of that minority moved a resolution to the effect that 'under the existing system of the School Board the means of religious instruction were inadequate for the giving of such teaching.' This motion was opposed by Dr. Dale and Dr. Crosskey, and was defeated. A determined effort was made by the Bible-teaching party at the triennial election in 1879 to turn the flank of their 'secular' opponents, by the offer made during the thick of the contest, to withdraw two of their candidates and thus leave the Liberals with their old majority, if the Bible was restored to the Board Schools to the extent of its being read daily. At a meeting of the Liberal Association to consider this offer, a strong and influential minority of its members, led by Mr. J. S. Wright and Alderman Manton, was found to be in favour of the acceptance of this offer. The crisis was a serious one, and it required all the predominating influence of Dr. Dale to avert a disastrous split in the Liberal ranks. By his personal ascendancy, however, he prevailed upon the meeting to agree that Mr. George Dixon and Mr. J. S. Wright should seek an interview with the leader of the opposite party and make the best terms they could. The consequence was an acceptance on the part of the Liberal candidates of simple Bible-reading in the schools, and no contest took place.



One of the first considerations of the new Board was the drawing up of the regulations in reference to Bible-reading in compliance with the compact which had been entered into. Dr. Crosskey had shown all through the controversy the strongest aversion to the compromise, which he only accepted under great pressure from his colleagues; and he took advantage of the submission of these proposed regulations to the Board to deliver his mind. He could look upon the scheme as nothing better than a compromise in which religious indifference took refuge, and he felt sure that, when people were really in earnest about religion, they would see that the only solution was the method which had been adopted during the last six years. Thus daily Bible-reading by the Head Teacher without note or comment became the established rule in Board Schools in 1879, and has continued the rule to this day.

There was a contest at the next triennial election in 1882, with the result that nine Liberal candidates were returned. Nothing daunted, however, by the reduction of the number of Bible-teaching nominees, but encouraged probably by success in having forced Bible-reading upon their opponents in 1879, the Bible-teaching party made vigorous efforts at the triennial election of 1885 to induce the nine Liberal candidates to accept a modified syllabus of religious instruction, admitting explanations by the

teachers of passages of the Bible read by the children; and some conferences were held between the two parties with a view to a compromise on these lines. Ultimately it was agreed that each party should withdraw one candidate from the contest, on the understanding that the following proposition should be submitted to an early meeting of the Liberal "Two Thousand" and that the Liberal candidates should abide by their decision; viz.:—"That the schools be opened daily with the Lord's Prayer repeated by the children, and the Bible be read in class by the children with such grammatical, historical, and geographical explanations as are suited to the capacities of the children."

With this understanding, no contest took place, and in the following month a meeting of the 'Two Thousand' was held at which this proposal was considered. Alderman Sam. Edwards proposed the resolution, and was supported by a few other Liberals; but the motion was lost by a large majority, and thus this phase of the religious controversy disappeared.

Strenuous efforts were again made at the triennial elections in 1888 and 1891 to obtain a Bible-teaching majority on the Board, but, in the latter case especially, without success. Many of the parochial clergy of the city had for some years past taken part in the giving of religious instruction (under the regulations of the Board passed in 1873)

by means of the voluntary agency organized by Alderman Manton; and, now, some others, representing the High-Church section of the Church of England, publicly acknowledged that the verdict of the city as shown by previous, and particularly by the latest, School Board contest was against Bible-teaching of any kind by the Board teachers and at the cost of the rates, and arranged for the giving of religious instruction in those schools of the Board which had not up to that time been worked by Alderman Manton's organization.

In this way the whole of the schools under the School Board were now provided with religious teaching by voluntary agency, and Dr. Crosskey lived to see the triumph of the Liberal policy, which he had so ably and persistently advocated, of secular instruction by the School Boards and religious instruction by the Churches.

A great opportunity was afforded to him of elaborating his arguments for this position by his examination before the Royal Commission on the Elementary Education Acts in March and April, 1887, as one of the Secretaries of the Central Non-conformist Committee. He there contended that the School Board system rested on the facts (1) that there were parts of a child's education concerning which all agreed and which could be taught in a public school by teachers of all sects and parties: and (2) that these parts of education could best be imparted

by the organization which the State alone was capable of effectively establishing. The supporters of School Boards believed as thoroughly as their opponents in the necessity of religious education. They contended that children could be, and ought to be, taught the ordinary branches of human knowledge and that it was the duty of the various religious organizations of the country to provide in addition that religious culture without which no education could be complete. The controversy did not turn upon the question whether children should be religiously educated or not, but upon the questions by whom and when that education could be best given. Having stated that no one could more emphasize the necessity for religious teaching than he did, he admitted the difficulty in the way of reaching the children of the lowest class. He contended, however, that if the money and time spent by the Denominations upon the ordinary work of their schools were devoted to religious purposes, the religious instruction of the people could be far more effectively provided for than it is at present. The following answers to the questions put may be taken as a summary of his arguments:—"I think that children are much more impressed with religion when it is connected with religious organizations and religious people than when it is mixed up with the ordinary lessons." "Under the system which I am advocating, the Churches would exercise tenfold

activity; they would be thrown back upon their proper work, that is, to go and save the lost; and they would have more resources for the purpose."

Passing on to the more general educational questions with which Dr. Crosskey was identified during the period of his School Board activities 1876-1892, the first to be noted is the provision for placing regular lessons in morals on the time-tables of all the schools of the Board. The head teachers of the schools were informed by the Board in July, 1879 that two lessons a week of half an hour each were to be given to all the children in the boys' and girls' schools and that these lessons were to be entered in the time-table. The series of lessons was to include such subjects as obedience to parents, honesty, truthfulness, industry, temperance, courage, kindness, perseverance, frugality and thrift, government of temper, courtesy, unselfishness and kindred moral duties. Similar lessons were to be arranged for in infants' schools, the number and length of which was left to the discretion of the head mistress. When Dr. Crosskey was before the Royal Commission he was closely examined by Cardinal Manning and other members of the Commission as to the possibility of their teaching morality apart from religion, and his reply was that moral laws were established as well as physical laws, and these could be taught independently of any discussion of the basis on which they rested. Physical laws had

their basis in the power and wisdom of the Creator; but a knowledge of their nature and operation could be given at school or college without calling in the theological instructor for that purpose. The same thing was possible regarding moral laws. Passions and actions had distinct characteristics in themselves and clearly marked effects upon ourselves and upon society. These characteristics and effects could be made subjects of definite instruction, so that there was a natural morality in which children could be taught and trained without a direct appeal to religious sanctions. The highest art was that which was inspired by religious feeling; scientific teaching was deficient save as science was treated as a divine revelation; and history could only be understood when read by the light of religious principle; but the rules of art, the laws of science, and the causes of historical events could be taught in one place and by one set of masters and the religious meaning at another place and by another set of masters. It was not necessary that a complete education should be given in a public elementary school. The code itself recognised the possibility of separating religious teaching from moral teaching by requiring religious teaching to be given before the beginning of school, and yet necessarily allowing moral discipline and teaching to be cared for during the ordinary school hours. Moral teaching was to be given apart from religious teaching under

the Act. The possibility of separating the two subjects was thus granted.

Early in 1880, the School Board decided that it was desirable to introduce systematic elementary science teaching into its schools, and a scheme was submitted to the Board by the Education Committee on the lines of the so-called 'peripatetic system' of instruction. Dr. Crosskey was strong in his insistence that, for the effective teaching of science in public elementary schools, it must be taught experimentally, and that for systematic and continuous experimental teaching, special science demonstrators must be appointed—as the master of a school who has many subjects to teach and many duties to discharge could not by any possibility give any sufficient proportion of his time to the art or practice of scientific demonstration. Having carried the opinion of the Board thus far with him, it was obvious that the expense of providing apparatus—building a laboratory possibly—and supporting a special science demonstrator at every single school would be as enormous as unnecessary; and the 'peripatetic' method of instruction was the solution of the difficulty which the Board adopted. An experiment in this direction had already been made by the Liverpool School Board with encouraging results. The chief characteristics of this method were summarised by Dr. Crosskey in a paper read before the Social Science Congress in 1884, which

may be usefully given here. "As regards 'plant' it involves (1) the building of a laboratory in some central position, (2) the purchase of a stock of apparatus, (3) the provision of a small hand-cart by which boxes containing apparatus can be readily carried from school to school. A special science demonstrator is appointed, with such assistants as the number of schools to be dealt with may require, whose duties are (*a*) to prepare a scheme of lessons and arrange the experiments for their illustration, (these courses are, in the Birmingham Board Schools, mechanics for boys and domestic economy for girls), and (*b*) to visit the schools in succession (say, once a week or fortnight) and give at each school a lesson profusely illustrated by experiments, the requisite apparatus having been brought by the hand-cart from the central laboratory. The regular staff of the school assists the demonstrator, and is assisted by him, in the following ways:—1. A teacher on the staff of the school is present at every demonstration and is thus prepared to enforce and continue its lessons in the intervals between the demonstrator's visits. 2. The scholars have opportunity given them during school hours to write answers to questions set by the demonstrator, who examines their papers. In Birmingham, the science staff now consists of a chief demonstrator (Mr. W. Jerome Harrison, F.G.S., who has ably directed the work from its commencement) and six assistant



demonstrators, and, in addition, several youths to work the hand-carts."

One of the first administrative acts of Dr. Crosskey after his appointment as Chairman of the School Management Committee in December, 1881, was to obtain the abolition of the Board's Scheme of Salaries to Assistant Teachers by which annual increments were made annually rising from a minimum to a maximum without regard to any increased value in the services rendered. For this automatic scale Dr. Crosskey prevailed upon the Board to substitute one by which Teachers were appointed at fixed salaries subject to increments which would be recommended by the Committee for increased efficiency, estimated and measured from the reports of the Head Teachers, Board's Inspectors, and the annual report of Her Majesty's Inspector. It was obvious that this scheme would entail the closest attention of the Chairman of the Committee in order to ascertain the merits of individual Teachers, and to sift the evidence which would be largely official, and form his own judgment, for or against a rise of salary. So ably, discriminately, and fairly did Dr. Crosskey perform this delicate task that the teachers themselves in the Address presented to him by them at the close of his School Board career in 1892 testified that he had "controlled their professional advancement with an impartiality which had been above challenge." Attempts were

made from time to time to incite the opposition of the ratepayers to these increases of Teachers' salaries which had to come up for the approval of the Board at almost every Board Meeting, and were thus brought continually before the notice of the public. But Dr. Crosskey was able to silence the opposition by the assertion that the vote of pay of the Board Teachers, including the recurring increments, did not exceed the market value of good teachers, and he held most strongly that "a bad teacher was dear at any price, and to retain a good teacher was the best economy."

Considerable excitement was caused in educational circles in the years 1883 and 1884 by the appearance, as a Parliamentary paper, of a Report written by Dr. (afterwards Sir James) Crichton Browne after visits to some London Board Schools, averring serious and disastrous over-pressure of the children in Board Schools. The cry was immediately taken up by the opponents of advanced educational ideals. Dr. Crosskey took up the challenge thus thrown down with his characteristic energy; and presented an exhaustive Report to the School Management Committee (which was afterwards ordered to be presented to the Board, and by it ordered to be printed) in which he boldly stated that "if the system pursued in our schools really creates or favours over-pressure it ought to be promptly and effectively modified. On the other hand, children

attending public elementary schools have a right to the best education their circumstances enable them to receive. The Board is bound not to be content with giving a poor education to poor people. Taking into account the number of years during which children are able to attend school, the system of education to which they are subjected by law ought to be planned on a sufficiently large and liberal scale to train them into intelligent men and women. It would be to inflict a great and glaring wrong upon the great mass of our people to make education compulsory and at the same time to provide schools in which the standard is lower than that which children are fairly and honestly able to reach. If then what is called 'over-pressure' be found to be due to causes which good management might readily remove, any alteration of the Code which would have a tendency to lower the standard of education would be a grave injustice and a national misfortune." These words extracted from the above-mentioned Report clearly show that Dr. Crosskey knew the quarter from which much of the strength of the clamour against over-pressure owed its origin. Nevertheless he acknowledged that it was the duty of School Boards to ascertain the facts. Into these he went with great minuteness of inquiry, and arrived at the conclusion that the number of specific cases of suffering from overwork was very small. At the same time he suggested some alterations in

the detailed working of the schools with a view of directing the special attention of Head Teachers to cases of delicate health and defective intellect, and these were subsequently embodied in a circular from the Board to the Teachers.

Into other cognate controversies on education Dr. Crosskey threw himself with characteristic energy and clear-sightedness, and always with a paramount desire to develop its possibilities and extend its advantages to the humblest of the community. In 1884 he contributed a valuable paper to the transactions of the Birmingham Philosophical Society on "The Organization of Educational Institutions in a large manufacturing town, with a special reference to the provision required for Technical Education." He was one of the earliest to realize that the course of instruction in our elementary schools needed reform, and that such changes were imperatively demanded as would promote better training of the hand and eye by improved instruction in drawing, in the elements of science, and the elementary use of tools. The movement of opinion in this direction found more definite expression in the formation of the National Association for the Promotion of Technical Education in 1887, and recent Acts of Parliament have made the provision of this kind of education very general, by the agency of County Councils, in the area of *secondary* education. But Dr. Crosskey felt that the foun-

dations for technical education must be laid in the elementary school, and pressed this the more strongly because he knew that the children of the vast majority of the working classes would complete their education in the elementary school, and that, if they did not receive technical training there, they would get none at all. The Birmingham School Board has now adopted a scheme of manual instruction for the boys of the upper standards, and has arranged for a graduated course of hand and eye training for the lower standards as a preparatory course leading from the Kindergarten training of the Infant school to the manual instruction in the school workshops.

In the struggle for 'Free Schools,' that is, for the abolition of the payment of weekly fees by scholars in public elementary schools, Dr. Crosskey did yeoman's service during all the years of his enrolment in the ranks of educational reformers, by pamphlets and speeches, by memorials and deputations; and he lived to see the day when Parliament declared that every parent in the country could claim his right to, and should be able to obtain, Free Education for his child, and voted an additional grant per scholar to every school which was willing to accept that grant in lieu of school fees.

Dr. Crosskey was a strong advocate for the better training of teachers, and took a prominent part in the agitation for the dissociation of Training

Colleges from their present denominational management, and for a larger addition to the number of existing Training Colleges to be mainly maintained by imperial grants, so as adequately to meet the existing, and still growing, national requirements. He urged the institution of Day (as opposed to Boarding) Training Colleges in large centres of population in England, similar to those which had long been established in Glasgow and Edinburgh under the Education Code for Scotland; and, when this was conceded by Parliament, he was one of the promoters of a Day Training College for Birmingham in connection with Mason College, and was on its Board of Management. He was most keen also to see the crown put to the edifice of the educational institutions of Birmingham by the constitution of a Midland University, and contributed to the discussion of the question by a valuable paper read before the Birmingham Philosophical Society, entitled "Proposals for a Midland University."

The narrative of this portion of Dr. Crosskey's public work cannot be closed without further reference to the presentation of an Address from the Birmingham Board Teachers' Association on his resigning his seat on the Board, which was accompanied by a purse of a hundred sovereigns for the endowment of a 'Crosskey Memorial Scholarship.' This presentation was made in December, 1892, a few months after his retirement from the Board,

when the President of the Association feelingly and eloquently expressed the sentiments of the whole body of Board Teachers as to the fidelity, effectiveness, and sympathetic consideration with which Dr. Crosskey had discharged the difficult and delicate functions of Chairman of the School Management Committee. "They were met," he said, "to bear tribute to the fact that in the dispensation of the enormous patronage attached to his office, Dr. Crosskey had been absolutely and unimpeachably fair. For eleven years they had learnt to regard him as a teacher among teachers, as a schoolmaster among schoolmasters."

This survey of the field of Dr. Crosskey's educational activities in connection with the Birmingham School Board will have impressed the reader with the more strongly marked characteristics of his nature.

He had a clear, logical, orderly mind, which enabled him to master the details of a subject as well as to grasp the principles involved, and to measure with remarkable accuracy the nature of the course along which, and of the goal towards which, those principles led. With this was combined great tenacity of purpose which, had he been a man of narrower ideals and less clear perception of possibilities, might have degenerated into obstinacy. But he was always ready to take one step in advance, if he could not see his way to make many

and his persistence showed itself no further than in aversion to compromise until apparently every resource for achieving his purpose had been exhausted.

Though somewhat reserved in his confidences with others, he was a patient listener to others' confidences, showing the kindest consideration for their feelings and deep sympathy for their grievances or troubles. The teachers under the Board were fully sensitive of this, and made recognition of his tenderness to their interests in their presentation Address (to which reference has been made above) in the following words: "For twelve years you have been willingly accessible to us in all our times of difficulty. Your leisure has always been given ungrudgingly to conference with us, and your ripe experience and sound judgment have always been at our service."

He was emphatically a 'Progressive,' with views on education which were always in advance of his time, and, in the period before 1870, very much so. With regard to the education to be afforded by the Public Elementary Schools he would recognise no limits to its range and breadth beyond those imposed by the material conditions under which those lived who used the schools. Such schools were to aim at supplying the very best education possible during the short—too short, he would say—school-life of the children of the industrial classes.



He gave unsparingly of his time and energies to the work of the School Management Committee of the Board, thinking no labour too great to master the facts upon which his decision was to be based. He preferred to do things for himself rather than to have things done for him. Indeed, if he had had a little more confidence in the maxim *qui facit per alium facit per se*, it would have been better for his health, and for his constitutional powers of work upon which he continuously made such exhausting demands.

Yet by those labours he visibly moved the world towards that more perfect ideal which aims at the harmonious development of *all* the powers—moral, intellectual and physical—of human beings, and which would take the place of the old-fashioned narrow and one-sided training, which characterised elementary education when he first took part in its direction. And, in the words of Robert Browning,

‘To be the very breath that moves the age  
 ‘Means not to have breath drive you bubble-like  
 ‘Before it—but yourself to blow; that’s strain;  
 ‘Strain’s worry through the life-time; till there’s  
 peace.’

Failing health required Dr. Crosskey to retire from membership of the School Board in September, 1892; and within twelve months from that date for him there was peace.

I may be permitted to add, as an appendix to Mr. MacCarthy's account of Dr. Crosskey's educational work, the following communication from Mr. Dixon, M.P., the Chairman of the Birmingham School Board.

The Dales,  
42, Augustus Road,  
Birmingham.

Dr. Crosskey was one of those who believed that secular education in elementary schools ought to be provided by the state and the local authorities, and managed by School Boards elected by the rate-payers, and that religious instruction should be given by voluntary teachers outside the secular school hours.

His desire was that the object to be sought for in the education of the children should be something higher than the mere attainment of such knowledge as would enable them to become better workmen and gain larger wages. He wished to raise them to a higher life, in which the pleasures and refining influences of literature, science and art might be opened out to them; and indulgence of the lower physical propensities might be superseded by the development of moral and social characteristics.

As the Chairman of the School Management Committee of the Birmingham School Board, Dr. Crosskey had the initiation and the supervision of the methods to be adopted in the development of

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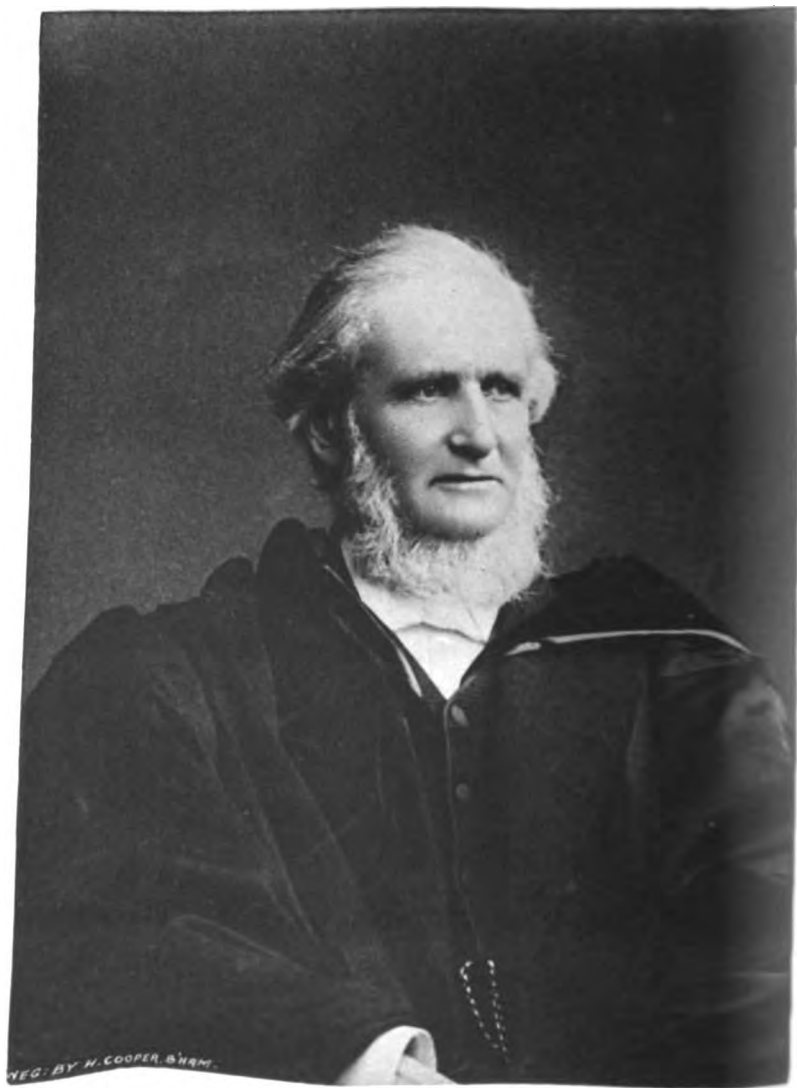
the elementary education of the town. He was very clear, concise and earnest; and devoted to his work, and his sympathetic feelings towards the teachers in the schools gave him great and deserved influence over them.

It would be difficult to overrate the value of the services Dr. Crosskey has rendered to the cause of elementary education in Birmingham; services which were based upon the highest, the purest, and the most unselfish motives. He was regarded by his colleagues with esteem and affection, and they will ever preserve a loving memory of the great sacrifices which he made to that cause which we all deeply felt involved the highest interests of society.

GEORGE DIXON,

Chairman of the Birmingham School Board.  
December 30th, 1894.









## CHAPTER X.

### SCIENTIFIC RESEARCHES AND PUBLICATIONS.

*By Professor C. Lapworth, F.R.S.*

TO many men of the past and of the present generation, the late Dr. Crosskey was probably far better known as an enthusiastic and successful Scientist, than as an advanced Educationalist or as an eminent Minister of Religion. The science in which he interested himself was the science of Geology; and the special branch of Geology in which he made his reputation was that of the study of the phenomena of the great "Ice Age" of the British Islands. In the literature of the Glaciology of Britain there are few names more familiar to geologists than that of Dr. Crosskey.

From the year 1865 until the date of his death, Dr. Crosskey was a conspicuous member of the Geological Societies of Glasgow and of London, of the Geological Section of the British Association, and of many local scientific societies. He was a keen original worker in the field, and an enthusiastic and convincing lecturer on geological subjects. Indeed, either at the meetings of the British Association or



at those of the various scientific societies which Crosskey attended, there were few men whose reputation could command so large and so appreciative an audience. This reputation he owed not only to his intimate knowledge of the subject, and to the keenness of his interest in the special branch of geological science to which he devoted himself, but also to his attractive personality, and the fascinating charm of his manner and style. Into all his geological work and addresses Crosskey not only carried that indomitable energy which marked all his life work, but his mode of examination and presentation of the subject was by no means that of the average dry-as-dust scientist whose ideas are moulded by the results of a long and rigid scientific training. He gave the listener the impression of being one who came to the subject from without; who was a geologist simply because he was a lover of truth. He seemed to have been drawn into the science insensibly, and as it were to his own surprise. Listening to him one received the impression that he was a man who had noted with his own eyes a series of natural facts and phenomena of the very highest importance in themselves, which he had learnt for himself were not only curious and fascinating, but whose existence every fearless lover of truth was bound to acknowledge, and to formulate for them some simple and reasonable explanation.

So far as my own personal experience of Crosskey's relation to Geology enables me to judge,—and I am supported in this view by other geologists,—this individual and peculiar mode of recognition and appreciation of geological facts and theories gave him in a high degree that personal attraction which he always possessed for geological men and students of Geological Science. He stood, as it were, between them and the educated world at large. He was wholly with them, but not wholly of them. When the geologist listened to him, it was always with the flattering suspicion that Crosskey was a geologist not by training, but by conviction; and that the admiration he had for the science had been forced from him by the geological facts themselves.

The facts and theories which he presented to his hearers he offered not so much from the geological aspect, as from the point of view of the looker-on. Whenever he talked or lectured upon geology he always appeared to speak more or less from this extraneous point of view. The geologist was charmed by the explicit acknowledgment of the fascination, the grandeur and the far-reaching consequences of his own science, while the outsider felt himself to be standing upon the same intellectual platform as Crosskey, and shared in the wonder and enjoyment of the lecturer himself.

To men like Crosskey the science of geology owes a debt of gratitude which few appreciate at its true

value. Such men are links between the enthusiastic workers inside the province of the science, and those earnest workers in other departments of intellectual labour without, who have no leisure to study the science in all its details, but are nevertheless anxious to know what is, in truth, its meaning and its drift. Such men as Crosskey break down the barriers of antagonism between the scientist and the non-scientist, and insensibly bring the two together in mutual respect for each other's work, and toleration for each other's opinions. The scientist welcomed with the keenest appreciation such a lover of geology, converted as it were, from the ranks with the Gallios of the time. The ordinary non-scientific worker soon forgot his former impression of the coldness and the rigidity of the science in listening to Crosskey's glowing words, and was compelled to share in that respect and admiration for scientific facts and results which permeated and warmed Crosskey's eloquent addresses.

It has been well said that "the tastes of most men can be traced back to the habits of their youth: and that these habits, in a great measure, are moulded by the circumstances, physical as well as intellectual, in which that youth has been passed." And the development of Crosskey's scientific tastes and activities afford an admirable illustration of this rule.

Crosskey spent his early days in the neighbourhood of his native town Lewes, on the slopes of the breezy Downs of Sussex. The love of open-air exercise, so naturally associated with the holiday hours of his early youth, always remained a passion with him; and no doubt impelled him naturally in the direction of that science in which the best discoveries are made in the open air, and the best original work is associated with combined physical and mental exertion.

He was thus born in the same town as Dr. Mantell,—the eminent geologist; and his youth was spent in it, when Mantell must have been at the height of his geological fame. Whether the two ever met it is impossible to say; but it may be regarded as certain that a lad endowed with a mind so intellectual, sympathetic, and imaginative as that of Crosskey, must have been well aware of the nature and bearing of Mantell's researches, and must have been insensibly attracted by the reputation and work of his distinguished fellow-townsmen.

In an appreciative obituary notice of Crosskey by "One who knew him well," it is stated that "before he came to Glasgow he had made some acquaintance with the science of Geology; and especially with the chalk formation of the South of England." Curiously enough some side-light is thrown upon this assertion from another quarter.

Crosskey was married in 1852, the year in which he entered upon his ministerial charge in

Glasgow. That he had, previous to this date, already had his attention called to Geology and had interested himself in the science, is clear from the fact that the subject was often referred to in the correspondence between himself and his future wife, Miss Aspden. At that period she was an occasional visitor to the Isle of Wight; and in company with some lady friends, spent part of her holiday time in collecting fossils from the rich shell-bearing localities of the island. Among the acquaintances of the young ladies were the late Sir Henry de la Beche, and Professor Edward Forbes, who had been busied in working out the minor details of the geological structure of the island, and the sequence of its fossil-bearing rocks. The young ladies occasionally joined the two geologists in their geological expeditions; and were encouraged by them to add to their own fossil collections, because of their value to the geological worker at large. The description and discussion of these excursions formed a conspicuous part of the correspondence of the two young people, and the common regard for Geology thus engendered formed afterwards a pleasant possession of their married life.

For the first three years of his residence in Glasgow Crosskey appears to have been absorbed in his ministerial work. Nevertheless there is evidence that he had in some way or another,

become acquainted with the Glasgow geologists, even within the first year of his Glasgow pastorate. But such Geology as he accomplished for a few years appears to have been confined to listening to geological papers, reading geological works, and occasionally accompanying the members of the Geological Society upon their field excursions.

Up to 1855 Crosskey's interest in the science was hardly more than luke-warm. But in that year, what many would call an accident suddenly introduced him at one step into the ranks of geological workers. His previous vague interest in Geology became an absorbing reality, and he took his place in all seriousness as a working student of the science.

In August, 1855, Crosskey and his young wife spent their holidays in the beautiful island of Arran—that picturesque little epitome of Scottish Geology. They hired apartments at the hamlet of Invercloy, on the shores of Brodick Bay. Here some previous scientific visitor had left behind him a copy of Ramsay's classical little work upon the Geology of Arran. This seems to have been the spark which set in a glow Crosskey's already smouldering geological interest. The book was to Crosskey a revelation; the more so as its data and its deductions admitted of easy verification in the immediate neighbourhood. He read and re-read the little work in his lodgings; and carried it out with

him into the field. He went out day after day along the sea coasts and inland, visiting the sections mentioned by Ramsay, and identifying the localities and the rocks one by one. He was in the centre of a typical geological region. He had in his hands the first work of a young geological enthusiast; and at his feet the actual examples on which Ramsay had founded his conclusions. No wonder, therefore, that with his previous geological bias, and with this delightful object lesson before his eyes, Crosskey caught the infection of the true geological fever, which never leaves a patient but with death. Crosskey went to Arran a geological dilettante; he returned from Arran to Glasgow an enthusiastic geologist.

And Crosskey's lines, as a geologist, had indeed fallen in pleasant places in Glasgow. At that time men like James Smith of Jordan Hill, and Dr. Bryce, were in the plenitude of their fame, and living in the neighbourhood. The Glasgow Philosophical Society, and the Glasgow Geological Society had already been founded, and among their members were local men whose names have since become household words in the history of British Geology. Armstrong,—“the Clyde Naturalist;” Dr. John Young,—now the Keeper of the Hunterian Museum; David Robertson,—so well known by his researches among the Foraminifera; Croll,—the distinguished author of “Climate and Time;” Dugald

Bell; and many others,—all earnest geological enthusiasts; while Lord Kelvin, (then Professor Thompson), Professor Henry Rogers, and other University men contributed occasional geological papers of the highest order. During Crosskey's residence in Glasgow also, the officers of Her Majesty's Survey were busied in working out the geological structure of the Lowland region between Glasgow and Edinburgh, and while sojourning in the neighbourhood they were prominent contributors to the literature and discussions of the scientific societies of the City. Among these Survey men were Professor Ramsay, (himself a Glasgow man), Mr. (Sir) Archibald Geikie,—the present Director General of the National Geological Survey; his brother, Mr. James Geikie,—the present Murchison Professor of Geology at Edinburgh; Dr. John Young,—now Professor of Natural History in the University of Glasgow; Mr. (Professor) Hull,—afterwards the Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland; Mr. Bennie, and others. During the whole of his residence in Glasgow, Crosskey enjoyed the society and the friendship of most of these eminent men. He was one among many of an enthusiastic band of local workers in Geology.

While Crosskey's personal geological work, however, never interfered with the faithful discharge of his ministerial duties, and was always treated more or less as a matter of relaxation, it was like all his



work, performed with characteristic energy and conscientious diligence.

Some seven years intervened between Crosskey's notable visit to Arran, and the publication of his first original paper,—a period which his subsequent publications demonstrate was spent by him in making himself familiar with geological phenomena, geological literature, and geological methods. The stratigraphical lesson which he had learnt in Arran had its natural result in convincing him of the accuracy and reliability of geological methods and conclusions; but such original work as he eventually performed in the science was not along the lines of ordinary stratigraphy, but in a totally different direction.

These intervening years were momentous in the history of Geology from the rapid rise of scientific research and speculation in the direction of Glacial or Superficial Geology. The subject was new at that time both to the geologist and to the outsider. The novel ideas which were the fruit of the new discoveries were keenly disputed by the older geologists, and were regarded with astonishment or with sharp antagonism, by outsiders in general. But to the younger geologists they were irresistibly fascinating, as they opened up a new and unexpected field of research, and brought the science of Geology into direct relationship with the advent of man himself. The various geological societies

were flooded with papers on Glaciology. The newspapers entered into the controversies; and no educated man, who endeavoured to follow the signs of the times, could refuse to regard the matter as one of the very highest importance both to science and to humanity.

Among his geological associates, Crosskey found that British Glacial Geology was the ordinary subject of scientific conversation, and its facts and conclusions were ever under heated discussion. It was impossible that one so sympathetic as Crosskey could fail to enter with the keenest enthusiasm into the study of the subject. The more so as there were abundant opportunities for the prosecution of the study in the neighbourhood; and that study, in its initial stages, demanded for its immediate prosecution mainly a love of hard out-door exertion, a keen eye, an honest mind, and a bold faculty for generalization; gifts with which Crosskey was naturally endowed.

Into this rich field of novel facts and passionate theory Crosskey naturally drifted, and all such original geological work as he subsequently performed was consecrated to the subject of British Glaciology—to the study of the great “Ice Age” and its fossils.

It is impossible to appreciate the importance and value of Crosskey's geological life-work, or to understand its relationship to the contemporaneous



labours of other investigators, unless we trace its stage by stage through the gradual historical development of knowledge and speculation in British Glaciology.

For more than a century all geologists have been aware of the fact that almost everywhere throughout the length and breadth of the British Islands, the rocks which form the solid floor of the country are overlain by a practically continuous mantle of clay, sand, and gravel, known as Drift or Boulder Clay. This Drift is usually filled with blocks, pebbles, and boulders of rocks often foreign to the district where they are met with; and similar erratic blocks occur scattered loosely abroad over the surface of the soil, frequently scores, and in some cases more than a hundred miles from their original home. These boulder-beds, drift-gravels, sands, and clays, contain, in certain localities, abundant sea-shells or fragments of shells, either similar to those of species now inhabiting the seas around our islands, or identical with those which are now characteristic of the cold sea-waters of Arctic regions; and these shell-fragments occur at all heights up to at least thirteen hundred feet above sea-level. The boulders and rock-fragments met with in the Drift are often scratched, grooved, and polished, as if they had been pressed down and forced onward over the ground and over each other by some irresistible moving agency; and when the solid rock-floor below

the Drift is laid bare, it is generally found to be scratched, grooved, and polished in a corresponding manner. Sometimes the mantle of Drift or Boulder Clay is a mere film interposed between the solid rock-floor and the vegetable soil; sometimes it may be a score of feet in thickness. In one district it lies spread out in broad mound-like hillocks; in another it forms long sinuous ridges sweeping across the country quite independently of the local form of the ground. It is usually thickest and most compact in the dales and in the plains and the glens, and thins away on the swells and ridges of the higher ground. But for all practical purposes this superficial mantle of Boulder Clay may be regarded as continuous from Cape Wrath to the southern parts of the English Midlands, where it eventually thins out and dies away in a broad and irregular "fringe" of sand and gravel in the direction of the Valley of the Thames.

As this mantle of Drift rests upon the up-turned edges of all the solid rock-sheets of the country in turn, irrespective of their antiquity, and contains fragments of them all in one locality or another, there can be no question that in point of geological age it must be more recent than any of the underlying solid rock-formations of Britain; and further it must have been derived in some way from these solid rocks themselves, by the wearing and abrading power of some mechanical agent.

It was inevitable, perhaps, that the non-scientific observer should instinctively refer this enigmatical deposit to the agency of the Noachian Deluge; and the term "Diluvial Formation" which is still applied to it by some, had, in all likelihood, its origin in this popular belief. But since the beginning of the century geologists have universally referred its origin to one or other of the natural agencies which are known to be actually concerned in the denudation and deposition of the rock-formations of the present day.

As regards the precise mode of origin of the glacial deposits geologists soon showed a tendency to divide themselves into two opposing camps, the one invoking mainly the aid of water, and the other relying mainly upon the agency of ice.

That the former of these views should be, originally, the most widely spread was but natural. Most of the older rock-formations of Britain bore evidence that they had been deposited in periods of marine submergence, and there appeared, at first sight, to be no reason why the mantle of Boulder Clay should not have had a similar origin. But unfortunately for this theory, as knowledge progressed, the unique character of the Drift seemed to necessitate the operation of an agency correspondingly unique. Year by year, as discovery advanced, this first explanation grew more and more improbable. Sir James Hall, Professor

Buckland, and Mr. Lyell, next suggested that the Drift might, perhaps, be due to certain violent debacles of water which once swept over the land. When this suggestion became untenable in its turn, other geologists—headed by Charles Maclaren of Edinburgh and Robert Chambers—replaced it by a modified view which has its advocates even at the present day. According to this third opinion the Boulder Clays were mainly accumulated and distributed by sea-waters and marine currents during a *Submergence* of the British Islands; but these sea-waters must have been as cold as those of the Atlantic off Labrador at the present day, and must have carried floating ice-bergs, which scratched and polished the rock surface of the submerged land, and dropped the erratic blocks in the spots where they now occur.

Opposed to the geologists who relied upon the operations of *water*, were those who held that the universal mantle of British Boulder Clay, with its included erratic blocks and polished ground floor, could only have been formed by ice-sheets or *glaciers*. This Glacial theory originated later, and was more slowly developed than the Submergence theory. It is true that Playfair, in his well known "Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory," published at the beginning of the present century (1802), suggested "that for the moving of large masses of rock the most powerful agents, without doubt, that Nature em-

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plays are the glaciers." But the man who was the first to apply in all its fulness the Glacier-and-Ice-sheet theory to our British Boulder Clays, was the Swiss geologist Agassiz, one of the eminent members of that remarkable school of Continental geologists which had already discovered that the geological phenomena in Switzerland made it absolutely certain that the whole of that country had once been buried below a continuous sheet of ice, which had polished and scratched the rock floor over which it had moved, had laid down the Boulder Clays of that country, and had transported enormous blocks of stone across the whole breadth of the land, from the Alps to the Juras.

Professor Buckland was the first English geologist to acknowledge that the Continental theory of a great ice-sheet might, perhaps, explain many of the phenomena of the Drift of Britain; and in 1840 Agassiz himself visited England and Scotland studying their Drift and Boulder Clays, partly in company with Buckland himself.

Agassiz found everywhere proofs which convinced him that Britain, like Switzerland, had once been swathed in mighty glaciers. He held that the British phenomena proved beyond question that the ice had radiated from the mountains and high grounds of the country, and had spread out abroad over the plains, polishing the rock floor beneath, laying down the mantle of Drift with its numberless

moraines, and scattering far and wide the erratic blocks. But so gigantic must this British Ice-Sheet have been at the time of its maximum extension, that it can only be paralleled at the present day by the great Ice-sheet which now overspreads the Greenland continent.

Agassiz's astounding theory of the mode of origin of the British Boulder Clays made its way very slowly among the ranks of British Geologists, who still clung to the older view of marine submergence and floating Icebergs. But in 1851 Professor Ramsay showed that in North Wales, even if we admit a submergence of two thousand feet, we have still to face the fact that the scratched and polished rock-floor occurs below the supposed marine shell-bearing clays due to that submergence; and that glacial moraines and Glacial Drift occur also above them, so that both before and after the supposed marine submergence, severe glacial conditions must have existed in Britain. As Ramsay extended his researches over Northern England and Scotland, he came to the further conclusion that the effects of submergence were everywhere trivial compared with the effects of wide-spread glacial action; and he finally gave in his adhesion to Agassiz's theory that the more striking Drift phenomena of the British Islands could only have been brought about by a continuous ice-sheet, or by a series of confluent glaciers.



Such was the state of the controversy when Crosskey entered upon his pastorate in Glasgow. Not only were two Glasgow geologists, Ramsay and Dr. Bryce, in the fore-front of the struggle, but another West of England man, had already distinguished himself in the same direction.

Mr. James Smith, of Jordan Hill, had for many years previously employed his leisure time in studying the raised beaches and shell-bearing clays of the shores of the Firth of Clyde.

Stage by stage he had demonstrated the fact that beds of marine shells occur at various heights above the sea-level along the western coasts. As he continued his researches he discovered that many of the species are no longer natives of the shallow parts of the neighbouring seas; but that a large proportion of them are those of species now living in the colder sea-waters of the Arctic regions. These shell-beds he found to repose in some places at once upon the Lower Boulder Clay; and he drew the important inferences, that at the time of their deposition the climate of Britain must have been far colder than at present, and that during the cold period our islands must have been far more deeply sunk below the sea level than they are at the present time.

Thrown into the very focus of this glacial investigation and controversy; residing in the district where some of the most characteristic phenomena

of the Drift were apparent; happy in the personal friendship and society of those who stood in the very first rank of the glacial investigators; and already converted to a belief in the honesty and thoroughness of geological methods, Crosskey entered into the matter with special ardour, and his name soon became conspicuous as one of the keenest and most industrious students of the glacial phenomena of the west of Scotland. In company with Dr. Bryce, Mr. Robertson, Mr. Armstrong, Mr. John Young, Mr. Dugald Bell, and others, he visited most of the previously known exposures of the fossil-bearing deposits, aided in collecting their fossils, and in tabulating and comparing the species.

The first of Dr. Crosskey's papers was published in the year 1863, eleven years after his settlement at Glasgow, and seven years after his notable visit to Arran. These years were spent by him in what may be called his geological apprenticeship; in accumulating the material for his future papers; and in working out the biological and geological relationships of the glacial shells, a magnificent collection of which he accumulated during his geological career, and which he bequeathed at his death to the Hunterian Museum of Glasgow University.

That he had already become notable as a local geologist some years before his first geological paper was published, is clear from the references in Mr. (Sir) Archibald Geikie's classical paper on "The

Phenomena of the Glacial Drift of the West of Scotland," read in the year 1862. In the Appendix to that work, Dr. Crosskey is cited as the sole authority for the local occurrence of some twenty forms of glacial shells; and in his preface the author thus refers to him,—“To the Rev. H. W. Crosskey, of Glasgow, also, I must again make my best acknowledgments. The trouble he has taken in assisting me in the catalogue of the Mollusca of the Clyde beds, no one who does not know the terrors of zoological synonymy can in any measure appreciate.”

How well the work of Crosskey and his colleagues was performed, rapidly became evident from the contemporary testimony of the local geologists, one of whom thus refers to them—as early as 1871,—“During the last few years the deposits of the Clyde Valley have had more minute and careful examination bestowed upon them than any similar deposits throughout the country. The labours of Messrs. Crosskey, Robertson, and Bennie have now made them the best known Post-Tertiary deposits of any in Scotland.”

The spirit in which Crosskey and his colleagues commenced and carried out their labours is well displayed in Dr. Crosskey's paper on “The Recent Researches in the Post-Tertiary Geology of Scotland,” read before the Philosophical Society of Glasgow, December 7th, 1868: in which he gives a

summary of the extent of scientific knowledge and speculation upon this subject up to that date. This is valuable and instructive reading even now, and is a model of what such summaries should be,—concise, clear, and consecutive.

He showed that in the earlier researches into the Post-Tertiary beds of Scotland, investigators were satisfied with noting two main Drift deposits,—a Lower Drift on Till—a stiff unstratified clay mixed with boulders; and an Upper Drift,—a laminated Clay with local sands and gravels, collectively known as the Brick Clay. Fossils,—most of them marine,—had been discovered in these Drift beds, but originally all the shell Drifts were vaguely grouped together and their fossils mixed indiscriminately in published lists.

Smith, of Jordan Hill, had been the first to prove that there was order in this apparent chaos. He discovered that there were two distinct faunas in these Drifts,—an older and a newer fauna. He showed that the newer fauna was practically confined to the Brick Clays and their associated gravels; while the older Till, with its clays and boulder beds was marked by the older fauna. This older fauna was an Arctic fauna, and afforded clear evidence of more or less Arctic conditions within the British seas, when the beds that contained its fossils were deposited.

Smith's palæontological conclusions thus fell into complete accord with the physical conclusions of

Agassiz and other investigators; and the Arctic shell-bearing Tillis and Boulder Clays of Britain—whether laid down on land or in the sea—became thus naturally grouped together under the single title of the Glacial Deposits; while the beds containing the newer fauna became known as the Post-Glacial Deposits.

Although Smith's paper thus marked an epoch in the history of this section of British Geological research, he himself never claimed that his work formed more than a single stage in that history.

A second stage was marked by the subsequent investigations of Ramsay, Professor Geikie, and Mr. Jamieson. But the greater part of the work among the shell-bearing deposits yet remained to be accomplished; and the work of Crosskey and his colleagues in the West of Scotland was projected and carried on as the natural extension and correction of this branch of Scottish Geology as it left the hands of Smith of Jordan Hill.

Crosskey advocated the making of lists of the fossils from every separate locality,—for beds of different ages and different fossils occur in proximity, and both beds and fossils had been intermixed indiscriminately in the list. The fossil lists had in reality become so confused that it was necessary to re-discover every shell *in situ*, and to compile catalogues for each bed, before any reliable conclusion could be arrived at, regarding either the

specific distribution of the forms or the correlated climatic changes.

Crosskey next pointed out that there were several Boulder Clays recognisable, and that it was absolutely necessary to separate them carefully in the field.

Again the most important fossil layers in these deposits were undoubtedly the well-known shell-bearing clays. These were supposed to be both underlain and overlain by barren beds. But Robertson and himself had already shewn that these so-called barren beds contain an abundance of microscopical organic remains. Further, it was necessary to separately study and catalogue the various shell beds,—as representing differences of depths, mixtures of sea and shore deposits, beds containing shells deposited in place, others with broken shells derived from a distance, and so on.

Crosskey shewed that even such detailed work as had already been done by the Clydesdale Geologists enabled them to draw comparisons between these Western shell beds and those of other districts: First—species of arctic character were but rarely found on the West of Britain; while, second, the peculiarity of the shell-beds of the East of Britain was their especial arctic intensity; third, it was true that many arctic shells live round our coasts at the present day, but they are found only in deep waters; whereas in glacial

times they roamed over the shallows; fourth, these detailed researches shewed that two-thirds of the Scottish shells occur also in similar beds in Canada; but the change of fauna since Glacial time was much greater on the British side of the Atlantic than in North America, while the change of climate in the Scotch seas has been far more complete than in those of Canada. Finally—comparing the lists of those Scottish Glacial shells already actually worked out *in situ*, by Mr. Robertson and himself, in the shell-bearing clays of the West of Scotland, with those which Professor Sars had collected from the beds of the old Glacial epoch in Norway,—Crosskey shewed that the connection between the Scotch and Norwegian Glacial fossils was more intimate than the connection between the present inhabitants of the Scotch and Norwegian seas;—leading to the inevitable deduction that the change of climate since the Glacial epoch has been greater in Scotland than in Norway.

From the year 1863 to 1879 the original geological papers communicated by Dr. Crosskey to the Philosophical and Geological Societies in Glasgow, either in conjunction with his friend, Mr. David Robertson, or by himself alone, amounted to at least twenty in number. They embrace many original papers on the sequence and fossils of the Post-Tertiary beds of the West of Scotland. Others deal with the peculiarities of the Ice Age itself, and

the "Characteristics of the Boulder Clay." Some have a more local bearing,—like those upon "the glacial deposits of Perthshire;" and others deal with the general deposits of the Ice Age, and their fossils,—such as the papers on the Post Tertiary Geology of Scotland; and others with the correlation of the British Glacial deposits with their foreign representatives,—such as the paper on "The correlation between the Glacial deposits of Scotland and those of Canada."

From the purely scientific aspect the most valuable of Crosskey's papers are unquestionably the series on the "Post Tertiary Fossiliferous Beds of the West of Scotland," written by himself in conjunction with his friend, Mr. David Robertson. In these papers the various shell-bearing strata of the country are described one by one; and their physical and zoological phenomena placed on record for the benefit of the scientific world. Careful descriptions of the various layers are given (in most cases from actual personal survey); and all the organic remains are carefully tabulated, their position fixed, and their geological bearing clearly and frankly discussed. They mark a distinct epoch in the development of British Post-Tertiary Geology; and will always retain their value as reliable works of reference.

Next in importance, as well as in order of time, we may place Crosskey's important share in the



“Monograph of the Post-Tertiary Entomostraca,” by Brady, Crosskey, and Robertson, published by the Palæontographical Society and completed in the year 1874.

Crosskey's share of this work lay, in part, in the personal collection of many of the forms *in situ*, and, in part, in preparing the Geological Introduction and Summary, amounting to some 99 pages of print. This book is still our standard in this branch of palæontology, and the geological portion is an excellent epitome of all that was known at the time of its publication of the local distribution of these Post-Tertiary Entomostraca; and of the natural sequence of their containing beds. Not only are all the known localities described in minute detail, but the beds are classified in their presumed natural order; and an attempt is made to arrange the deposits in the order of date. Three divisions of the fossil-bearing beds are recognised with subordinate zones; and well founded suggestions are thrown out respecting the physical, climatic, and biological conditions of each stage. The authors disclaim the attempt to give anything approximating to a final and complete sequence, but simply submit “an arrangement in the direction in which their investigations have led them.”—(p. 93).

That arrangement, however, had an important influence at the time, and even now is of high historical value.

They divided the GLACIAL period into three epochs. They recognised *first* an Early Glacial Epoch of *Elevation*, marked by the presence of much land ice, and the formation of Boulder Clays on the mountains, plains, and beneath the Arctic shell clays of the Clyde. The Middle glacial period was marked by a great *Depression* of the land, the formation of the Arctic shell bed at various depths in the seas of the time, and the dropping of Boulder Clay over the shell beds by glaciers reaching the sea, or by floating ice. The Final glacial period was marked by the *Re-elevation* of the land, the deposition of more littoral Arctic shell beds, the presence of local glaciers and icebergs, and the silting up of the great sea-channels.

They also separated the POST-GLACIAL period into three epochs:—an *Early Post-Glacial* epoch, marked by a slow sinking of the land, and the formation of the higher raised beaches and shell beds, showing an amelioration of the climate; a *Middle Post-Glacial* epoch, with a still milder climate, marked by peat growths and the formation of shell-bearing estuarine clays; and a *Final Post-Glacial* epoch (grading into the climatic conditions of the present), in which the land was re-elevated to its present position, the last raised beaches were carved out, and the upper estuarine sands deposited.

This classification (which, so far as the Glacial Deposits are concerned, may be looked upon as a

detailed expansion of Professor Hull's\* original and separate grouping of the Glacial Beds) may safely be said to epitomise Crosskey's personal conception of the actual sequence and meaning of the Post-Tertiary formations of Britain, and to this classification he afterwards appears to have consistently adhered.

In the year 1867, Messrs. Crosskey and Robertson made an extended excursion into Norway for the purpose of studying the shell-bearing beds of that country, and collecting their fossils, in order to compare them with those of the West of Scotland. They were welcomed and assisted by Professor Sars, and several other eminent Norwegian scientists.

They examined all the known shell-bearing beds round Christiania Fjord; and studied the boulder clays in the Thelmarken and other inland districts. They gave a summary of their results in their "Notes on the Post-Tertiary Geology of Norway" read before the Philosophical Society of Glasgow, in April, 1868.

They were exceedingly fortunate in their researches, practically doubling the number of species previously known from the Norwegian Post-Glacial beds; and they gave a detailed description of the strata and the new fossils, in their paper.

They drew the conclusions,—First, that the lowest Boulder Clay of Norway is analogous to

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\* Hull, *Proceedings Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, 1865.—p. 449.

the lowest Boulder Clay bed of Scotland, that its position is identical, its character the same, and like the Scottish deposits, it rests upon a grooved and striated rock-surface ;—Second, the Arctic shell-beds of Norway like the typical shell-beds of the West of Scotland occur next in order, and the fauna they contain is indicative of extreme cold ;—Third, the Arctic species of the Glacial epoch appear to have lingered longer in Norway than in Scotland ; so that the amelioration in climate took place much more rapidly in the latter country than in the former.

Many of the minor papers of Crosskey and his colleagues, published during his residence in Glasgow, have become classic in the history of British Glaciology, and they are familiar to all students of the subject from their frequent citation in the various text books and popular works upon the Ice Age, etc. A list of many of these papers will be found in the Appendix.

It is not pretended that Crosskey's original geological work in the West of Scotland was either so much larger in amount, or so preponderatingly fruitful of important scientific results, as to overshadow the work of very many of his local contemporaries, without whose aid and encouragement, indeed, much of his work would have been wholly impossible. But Crosskey was a man of more leisure than most of his local geological contem-

poraries. His training as a minister of the Gospel, his literary leanings, his didactic habit of mind, all conspired to lead him to communicate his geological results and speculations more frequently and perhaps more freely than they, in conversation, papers, lectures, sermons, and addresses. In this way he eventually became one of the most conspicuous amongst the geologists of the West, and the personal influence he exercised in creating a general interest in Post-Tertiary Geology among all parties, and in stimulating the younger race of local geologists to work at the subject, can hardly be over-estimated.

From the standpoint of the scientist pure and simple, the original investigations and memoirs of Dr. Crosskey necessarily take the foremost place. But Crosskey himself was an all-round man, with a wider outlook over life, its realities, its duties, and responsibilities, than is given to the average scientific man who is often confined within the limits of one special branch of investigation.

Thus the place he occupied in Glasgow was not perhaps so much that of an original worker in the science, as that of one who did all that lay in his power to contribute to its advancement within the ranks of its students, to its popularization amongst outsiders at large, and to the creation of a love and respect for it among religious men.

He was ever ready to take his share in the official duties of a responsible member of the

various scientific societies to which he belonged. He filled the post of librarian to the Philosophical Society in succession to Dr. Bryce, and held for several years the vice-presidential chair of the Glasgow Geological Society. He acted, also, for some years as lecturer on Geology at the Glasgow Mechanics' Institute or Andersonian University, giving each session a course of twelve lectures upon the science of Geology in general; and conducting in connection with this course an illustrative series of field excursions.

Up to the year in which he left Glasgow (1868), the esteem in which he was regarded by both scientific and non-scientific men grew insensibly, year by year. The working members of the scientific societies knew him and appreciated him as a sympathetic and enthusiastic fellow-worker. The non-scientific public learnt from his papers, lectures, sermons, and addresses, to relinquish their ignorant antagonism to Geological science, and grew to regard it with sympathy, wonder, and respect.

Even after he removed to Birmingham he still retained his interest in Glasgow men and Scottish Geology, making repeated visits to the West of Scotland to complete his earlier work; and occasionally delivering addresses on Geological subjects,—such as that on “The Physical History of Britain in Recent Times,”—which formed the third of a course of science lectures delivered by eminent scientists

under the auspices of the Geological Society of Glasgow, in 1881.

In return the men of Glasgow always retained the deepest regard and affection for their former townsman. The Philosophical Society of Glasgow elected him a corresponding member in 1874; the Geological Society of Glasgow made him an Hon. Associate in the year 1871; "And the remembrance of his past services and the high esteem in which his continued labours were held by one and all throughout the Metropolis of the West, received fit expression in the bestowal upon him of the degree of LL.D., by the Senate of the University of Glasgow, in 1882."

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Crosskey came to Birmingham in the year 1869, and from that date onward his geological researches were practically consecrated to the development of the Glacial Geology of the English Midlands.

He had left a seaside region, where,—owing to the presence of abundant shell-beds,—the proofs of local marine submergence during Glacial times were unequivocal; and the evidences of the former existence of the great ice-sheets were plain in the compact "ground moraine" of the Tills and Boulder Clays. He had now entered an inland district where the only evidences of Post-Tertiary marine submergence were afforded by a few local gravels or brick-clays containing broken fragments of

sea-shells; where the compact Till was practically conspicuous by its absence; and the entire glacial mantle was largely reduced to a ragged sheet of heterogeneous boulder-bearing gravels, clays, and laminated sands.

But, nothing daunted, Crosskey entered at once upon the study of the Drifts of the Midlands. He soon placed himself easily at the head of the students of the glaciology of the district; and in the course of a few years, by his energetic field-work, his popular lectures, and his original papers and addresses on the subject, he made himself not only the chief authority on these enigmatical formations, but he practically founded, trained, and inspired a local school of energetic and industrious glaciologists, who shared with him the pleasure and the credit of the Midland discoveries.

[Immediately on coming South he joined the Birmingham Natural History and Microscopical Society; and, a few years later, its scientific sister, the Birmingham Philosophical Society. In both he held in time the offices of Vice-President, and of President; and during his tenure of office he was the life and soul of the meetings.

At the date of Crosskey's coming to Birmingham some thirty-five papers (many of them merely paragraphs and very short notices) had been published upon the Drifts of the Midland region. During the twenty-four years in which he laboured in the



district, over one hundred local papers bearing upon these deposits were given to the scientific world: and of these no fewer than thirty-four were from his own pen.]

Crosskey's success is the more remarkable as the physical phenomena of the Midland Drifts and the peculiar methods of research demanded for their investigation and interpretation, are so markedly distinct from those of the Drifts familiar to him in Scotland. As we have already pointed out, neither the compact Till of Scotland, nor the extended lines of terminal moraines of the North of England are met with under their typical aspect, in mass anywhere within the Midland area: nor are there any well-bedded laminated and undisturbed fossiliferous marine clays,—like those of the Clyde Basin, to afford reliable evidence of marine submergence. In place of these we have a ragged aggregate of scattered boulder clays, and heterogeneous associated deposits,—here sandy, there gravelly, here interspersed with irregular layers of 'gutta-percha' clay, there almost wholly made up of rounded and unscratched pebbles of local rocks. The excellent drift sections of the North are here wanting, and the country is largely overspread by arable fields and by woodlands, or obscured by buildings, railways, and coal-tips. As a rule the surface of the land is low and gentle, and no good sections of the drift are laid bare, except along the banks of the

few rivers, along the canals, and in the occasional brick-pits and quarries.

Only in one respect are the Midland glacial deposits more promising than those of the North, and that is in the extraordinary abundance of erratic blocks they afford, of rock totally foreign to the solid rock-floor of the Midlands. These are scattered abroad over the length and breadth of the district from Wellington to Bromsgrove. They are found not only in the boulder clays themselves, but lie loosely buried in the soil, or they occur in sporadic groups, or as isolated individuals scattered over the surface of the open fields. So abundant are they in some spots, that they have been collected and used extensively as road-metal, or have been built by thousands into the walls of houses and gardens. They are met with, too, at all levels—from the lowest river-meadows to the tops of the highest hills.

As we travel outwards to the North and West of the City of Birmingham, the ragged cloak of drift becomes more continuous, the number of boulders increases, and the drifts contain clayey seams in greater abundance. Mounds of mixed drifts like those of Smethwick, occasionally individualize themselves from the general sheet and extend for long distances, like old moraines or the mysterious eskars of the North. Wide spreads of gravels and mixed drifts, such as those of Sutton Park,

grow commoner and commoner as the traveller goes farther and farther in a northerly direction, until finally they all appear to coalesce in the more or less continuous glacial mantle of the Cheshire Plain.

On the other hand, as we travel to the South and East of the City, the clayey drifts and boulder-bearing clays thin out irregularly, or become locally represented by mounds of alternating erratic-bearing drifts, gravels and sands, as at California. Sometimes the clays are wholly absent and the sands are regularly stratified, as if deposited in quiet waters (as at Moseley). Usually the layers are beautifully false-bedded, as if by the action of running streams at the time of their deposition; but occasionally, they are bent and contorted, as if they had been doubled upon themselves by some extraneous and powerful agent. Now and again the gravels wholly give place to sheets of tough brick-clay (both underlain and overlain by gravelly material), or to expanses of evenly bedded sand.

Finally as we pass still further to the southwards, outside the higher grounds, (beyond the Lickey Hills in the direction of Bromsgrove, Warwick, and Stratford), the patchy boulder-bearing beds, the scattered erratic blocks, and the laminated brick clays die out one by one, and all that remains to represent the complex drift sheet of the Midlands is an occasional sheet of finely-bedded sand, or a few patches of rounded gravel upon the summits and slopes of the hills.

Crosskey's predecessors in the study of these enigmatical Midland drifts had already established several important facts, and had arrived at a working hypothesis regarding their mode of origin. Buckland, Murchison, and Strickland had described in outline the characters and distribution of the Midland sands and gravels; Trimmer, Darwin, and Lister had detected and described a few shelly bands within them; and all observers had recognised the distant northern and western origin of the boulders. Some boulders had been unquestionably brought from the Arenig mountains of North Wales; others from the high grounds of Criffel and the Crees, of Galloway in the South of Scotland, others from the mountain regions of Eskdale and Borrowdale in the Lake district of the North of England. And immediately previous to Crosskey's coming to Birmingham two Midland men had again taken up the matter of the Midland drifts, in especial earnest; Mr. C. J. Woodward, who discovered fresh localities for marine shells at Lilleshall, and Mr. Mackintosh, who had shown that the three groups of foreign boulders were upon the whole differently distributed over the district—the Welsh erratics occurring from the Lickeys to Shrewsbury and the Welsh border, the Scottish granites in the central district from Dudley to Chester, and the Lake District rocks largely to east of these.

All these earlier observers were fully agreed that the Midland gravels, sands, clays and boulders, were

accumulated during a single cold epoch of *marine* submergence, in which the rare Midland shell-beds had been deposited, and in which sea-currents had spread abroad the sands and gravels, while icebergs had borne from the distant North and West their loads of extra Midland erratics.

Crosskey recognised at once how meagre was the work already accomplished, and how impossible it was with these scanty data to attempt to bring the Midland Drift into anything like natural harmony with the three divisions of the glacial formations already noted by himself and his colleagues in Scotland. But the plan to be followed was clearly the plan which he had already proved so successful in the Valley of the Clyde. The few Midland shell-beds must be re-examined layer by layer, and their relationships to the underlying and overlying drifts established. The river and quarry exposures must be sectioned in accurate detail, and the sequence and character of the successive layers fixed beyond dispute. Evidences of the Earlier Glacial Epoch (with its coalescent land glaciers) must be sought for in scratched rock-floors and patches of till below the gravelly deposits; and evidences of the Final epoch of *Re-elevation* in proofs of the stranding of icebergs against the slowly rising hill grounds of the country. Above all, the remarkable erratics of the Midland region demanded the closest investigation, as giving the local depth of the submergence.

the courses of the icebergs, and the extent and direction of the movement of possible local ice-sheets and glaciers.

He opened the campaign with a general paper "On the Glacial Epoch in Great Britain," read before the Birmingham Natural History and Microscopical Society, November, 1869; describing the Scottish deposits and their climatic indications, and dwelling pointedly upon the occurrence of two boulder clays of the glacial period,—a "Lower Boulder Clay" with its glaciated floor, and "connected with the more remote and arctic conditions;" and an "Upper Boulder Clay" of less importance, and occasionally containing shell-beds affording evidences of marine conditions. How ready he was to wait for further light upon the subject and how provisional he regarded even his own theoretical conclusions is evident from his final observation that "The whole subject is so complicated that all theories submitted must be considered tentative; and the most dogmatic assertions are those which in all probability will ultimately prove the least reliable."

He followed up this paper the next year (1870) by a detailed memoir, written by himself in conjunction with Mr. C. J. Woodward, B.Sc., "On the Post-Tertiary Rocks of the Midland District." (Proceedings, Birmingham Natural History and Microscopical Society; 1870, pp. 42—55). This paper was written by the authors as the first of a

projected series, in which they proposed (1), to give sections of the various beds of drift in the Midlands; (2), to tabulate the erratic blocks; and (3) to furnish separate lists of the fauna which may occur at various localities. The paper, however, was the only one of its series which was actually issued in this form, but the many papers subsequently published by Crosskey and his colleagues are all worked out upon the lines here laid down.

In this paper the proper plan of the investigation of the Midland drifts is sketched in brief. Nine of the most important drift sections are given in detail; and two of the most important shell-bearing localities and their fossils carefully described. Proofs of the local presence of glaciers in the Early Glacial Epoch were adduced from the California Pits near Harborne, where the authors recognised a basal or true "Till" with scratched stones, and an infra-glacial scratched and polished rock-floor. This Early boulder clay is succeeded by Middle Glacial sands and gravels, and these are covered by tenacious clays and looser gravels. The Till and its glaciated floor the authors attribute to land ice, when the country probably stood higher than it does at present; the Middle sands, gravels and clays, to a period of submergence; and the Upper gravels to shallow waters existing during the Re-elevation of the land. The fauna of the Ketley and Lilleshall gravels and clays is carefully analysed.

and it is pointed out that three of the species are characteristically Arctic, and are now extinct in British waters.

Like all his Midland predecessors, Crosskey was profoundly impressed by the great abundance and variety of the Midland boulders. Mr. Mackintosh had already sketched out an outline of their general distribution; and Mr. C. J. Woodward had planned and commenced a local survey of those in the neighbourhood of Birmingham.

[In the year 1872, however,—largely at Crosskey's instance,—the subject of the Erratic Blocks of Britain in general was taken up in earnest by the members of the British Association. A committee was appointed "for the purpose of ascertaining the existence in different parts of the United Kingdom of any erratic Blocks or Boulders, of indicating on maps their position and height above the sea, and also of ascertaining the nature of the rocks composing them, etc." Sixteen eminent geologists were nominated as a Committee, and Dr. Crosskey was chosen as the Secretary. His duties in this post were of an onerous nature, and involved much correspondence. From the results of his own researches, those of his Midland colleagues, and from the information afforded by extra-Midland observers, he drew up, subsequently, year by year, an "Annual Report" of the work of the Committee, and in this manner he supplied no fewer than



twenty consecutive yearly statements of the progress of this work. These "Boulder Reports" are published in the Annual Reports of the British Association between the years 1874 and 1893 inclusive; and they form a most invaluable series of papers of reference. The major number of these reports include detailed references of the yearly progress of the Midland work of Crosskey and his local colleagues.]

The Report for 1875 (Bristol) contained a full account of ninety-three boulders from the Bromsgrove and Northfield area; and of a large Welsh boulder found in Cannon Hill Park, Birmingham, which was, at Dr. Crosskey's request, carefully preserved by the Birmingham Corporation and surrounded by a railing in the Park, in the interest of the Midland public. In 1876 the Harborne erratics were numbered and described; in 1879 those from the high level drifts of Frankley Hill (750ft.), which Crosskey had studied in company with Professor T. G. Bonney and Mr. W. Matthews. In 1882 the remarkable find of the boulders of Icknield Street, Birmingham, was noted. In 1886 Crosskey made a special report for this Committee "On the Glacial Phenomena of the Midlands." In 1887 he summarized in brief the salient points established by the researches undertaken by the Committee; and in 1890 he gave his conclusions "as to the points which these Boulder researches have established.

with especial respect to the Glacial drifts themselves"; shewing that:—

- (1) The boulders have been deposited at two distinct periods.
- (2) Boulders from special districts are usually grouped together; but
- (3) There are some local cases of intermixture.
- (4) In some cases local hills formed an effective barrier to the dispersion of the boulders.
- (5) There is a distinct distribution of boulders from local hills.
- (6) There are boulders at every level in the drift, and boulders upon the surface where little or no drift is present.

In addition to carrying out the work necessary for the preparation of these valuable Reports, Crosskey found opportunity, not only to write several local geological papers of especial import; but to add largely to the popular appreciation of geological science in the Midland district. In 1882 he read a paper on a "Drift Section in Icknield Street, Birmingham," in which he described and figured a remarkable section of Glacial clays, (which he referred to the Early or severe Glacial epoch), and which are filled with erratics from the Arenig mountains and the Berwyn Hills and rest upon a shattered and broken surface of the underlying rocks. In 1883 he published a paper upon the discovery of "Grooved Blocks and Boulder Clays of

Rowley Hill." These he referred to local glaciers radiating from the central parts of the hill during the Epoch of Submergence. At the meeting of the British Association in Birmingham in 1886 he filled the onerous post of local secretary, and contributed to the local "Handbook" of that meeting a chapter "On the Post-Tertiary deposits of the Midland Counties."

It was at this Meeting that Crosskey made the acquaintance of the enthusiastic young American Geologist, Professor Carvill Lewis, with whose name that of Dr. Crosskey must ever remain honourably associated. In order to understand the subsequent relationships of these two glaciologists it is necessary to re-call, in brief, the notable advances which Glaciology had made both in Britain and abroad within the thirty years which had elapsed between Crosskey's commencement of Geological work in Glasgow, and the Meeting of the British Association in Birmingham in 1886.

During the course of those thirty years the great mantle of Glacial Drift had been studied by numberless investigators on both sides of the Atlantic. It had been found to exist all over Northern Europe, from the Arctic Ocean down to the latitude of Central Germany; and over the Continent of North America, from Greenland down to the latitude of Cincinnati.

The existence of arctic and sub-arctic conditions in Post-Tertiary times throughout the northern parts

of both these wide-spread Continental areas and bordering islands, had become generally acknowledged. It had been discovered that in some regions mountain masses had been scored horizontally more than a thousand feet above the present sea-level,—so that if the Glacial deposits were the products of a single continuous ice-sheet, that ice-sheet must have been at least locally of enormous thickness. Within the boulder-bearing layers of the Drift mantle itself patches of old land surfaces had been met with, affording vegetable and animal remains, typical not only of sub-arctic, but also of temperate conditions,—so that the ice-sheet must not only have advanced and retreated in these special areas again and again over the same ground ; but the local or general arctic conditions must have been interrupted by warmer epochs, either due to mere seasonal variations, or to more general causes acting over extended periods of time.

Further it had been discovered that, on both sides of the Atlantic, the great mantle of typical Boulder Clay with its polished rock floor and marginal moraines, was usually bordered southwards (as in the Midland District) by a broad band of country many miles across, in which the compact Boulder clays of the north practically disappeared, or occurred in mere local patches associated with sheets of gravel, sand, and fine brick clays, which in their turn died out slowly to the southwards and finally vanished

altogether. This curious complicated and ragged margin became eventually referred to as the "Glacial Fringe."

The advocates of the older Bi-glacial or "Submergence" Theory of the origin of the Drift (to which as we have said Crosskey consistently adhered), held that all these phenomena could still be most easily interpreted upon the simple assumption of the three-fold division of the Glacial Period;—namely, an *Early* and severer epoch of glaciation, when local glaciers coalesced and polished the rock-floor; a *Middle* epoch of marine submergence; and a *Final* epoch of re-elevation, with a return of glacial but less severe conditions. The intercalated fossil-bearing land floors among the boulder clays they regarded merely as proofs of the seasonal or minor alternation of advance and retreat of the ice-front; and the scratching and scoring of the rocks at high levels they referred to grounding icebergs, or to island glaciers, during the middle epoch of marine submergence, when our mountain masses must have been drowned to mere archipelagos or scattered islets, in the icy seas. The great elevation of these glacial markings above the present sea-level simply afforded, according to this view, a rough measure of the great depth to which our northern temperate and arctic lands must have been depressed during the epoch of the great Submergence.

But in the meantime there had grown into prominence two other schools of opinion, which,

while they were fully in accord with the advocates of submergence as to the facts of the case, interpreted these facts in a very different manner. Both these newer schools agreed in rejecting the view of a grand inter-glacial marine submergence, with its cold sea-waters and boulder laden icebergs; although they both acknowledged a submergence in the north of a few hundred feet. Both claimed that there was no escape whatever from the conclusion that a mighty continental ice-sheet must have existed in Glacial times,—continuous from Northern Scandinavia to the easterly shores of England, and from the peaks of the Northern Highlands to the Central Midlands. Both claimed that the shelly gravels found at great heights are merely certain patches of the sea-floor of Glacial times which had been carried up bodily in a frozen state to their present level in the heart of the great ice-sheet, as it crept forward as one mighty glacier from Scandinavia and the Scottish Highlands to the Midlands, filling the intervening shallow seas to their very floors and flowing thence onward over the land, and burying our mountain ranges almost to their very summits. But here the two schools parted company.

One school of theorists:—the *Multi-Glacial* or *Inter-Glacial School*, impressed most by the evidences of the existence of old land surfaces (with relics of temperate animals and plants) intercalated

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between the layers of Boulder Clays, believed that the general Ice Age must have been broken up universally by many epochs of alternate glacial and genial conditions; and that in the genial interglacial epochs, the great ice-sheet must have wholly disappeared from our low-lands, which then became clothed by a rich vegetation and were roamed over by wild animals characteristic of temperate climes.

The other school of theorists, which we may call the *Uni-Glacial* School, most impressed, on the other hand, by the undoubted similarity and the close association of all the more significant moraine-like layers of the great mantle of Boulder Drift, and well aware of the rarity and the tenuity of the intermediate vegetable-bearing land soils, regarded the interglacial layers as of very trivial importance. They held that there could have been but one single epoch of glaciation,—one single grand advance and retreat of the great Ice-Sheet. The intercalated soil patches in their opinion merely mark the natural step-like local advances and retreats of the ice front, as it shrank back or crept forward with the seasonal or local variations of the climate of the time, of which minor climatic changes, in fact, the mixture of temperate and sub-arctic animal and vegetable remains occasionally found in these soils afforded additional proofs.

The Multi-Glacial men were greatly fortified and guided by the brilliant astronomical speculations of

the late Dr. Croll, who referred the Glacial Age to an extended period of Eccentricity of the earth's orbit, which must of necessity have been broken up into alternate glacial and genial epochs due to the precession of the equinoxes.

This Multi-Glacial Theory, with which the names of Professor James Geikie of Edinburgh, and Sir Robert Ball, are especially associated, regards the peculiar glacial "fringe" (like that of the Midlands) as made up of relics of the glacial moraines of one or more of the earlier and more severe of the Glacial Epochs, when the ice-sheet advanced farthest to the southwards. The Glacial Mantles laid down by the early and extended ice-sheets may have been originally practically continuous, but have, of necessity, been in part worn down into shreds and patches by the rain and the rivers of the subsequent genial epochs, and in part buried up in the gravels and sands washed down by flood streams and marginal water-spreads due to the melting of the less extended ice-sheets of the glacial epochs of later times.

The advocates of the unbroken unity of the Ice-Age or the Uni-Glacial School,—among the most prominent of whom at the present day we may mention Mr. Percival Wright, of America, and Mr. Percy F. Kendall, of Leeds—numbered in their ranks the energetic and enthusiastic young American geologist, already referred to, Professor Carvill Lewis. This school not only claims the absolute



right of denying the existence of more than one great glacial Ice-sheet, but also of doubting the former presence of that Ice-sheet to the southward beyond the limits where its Boulder Clays and old moraines are now discernible,—as in the North of England and elsewhere at the present day. They would refer the heterogeneous assemblage of gravels, clays, sands, and erratics of the Glacial “Fringe” of the Midlands in part to irregular lobe-like extensions of the Ice-sheet, in part to the existence of extra-morainic iceberg bearing lakes, formed by the natural ponding back of the original drainage of the country in advance of the ice; and in part to the action of the excessive flood-waters which must have streamed outwards from the southerly and melting margin of the ice-sheet itself.

In all these advances in knowledge and speculation respecting the great Ice Age, Crosskey took the keenest interest, and made himself familiar with the best of its British and foreign literature. He was in frequent correspondence with the chief workers in this department of the science. He met many of them every year at the meetings of the British Association; and those who visited the Midlands for the purpose of studying its glaciology, not only received from him a cordial and hospitable welcome, but he was ever delighted to accompany them in person to the most critical sections in the field.

The young American geologist, Professor Henry Carvill Lewis, was from the year 1883 to his premature death in 1888, one of the most industrious and brilliant exponents of the Uni-glacial views.

[Before making the acquaintance of Dr. Crosskey at the Meeting of the British Association in 1886 Lewis had already twice crossed the Atlantic to Britain to examine, (and, as he hoped, to trace, by the aid of his experience in the United States), the terminal moraines and melting places of the great Ice-sheet of our country. But the phenomena of the glacial deposits of England proved to be far more complicated and tantalizing than the broad simple features offered by the deposits left behind by the great Ice-field of the American continent; and Lewis traversed our island again and again in the endeavour to reduce these complexities to something like theoretical order. He always met with a cordial welcome from Dr. Crosskey; and the differences in their views gave a flavour to their intercourse. But although Professor Lewis denied anything but a trifling depression in this country during the "Glacial Period," he nevertheless brought water over the Midlands. But it was fresh and not salt water. By the passage of the advanced lobes of the great Ice Sheet on the one hand down the North Sea, and on the other hand down the Saint George's Channel, he considered that the natural drainage of the central parts of the country had been blocked.

The waters of the Trent, Thames, and Severn being thus ponded back, the greater portion of the Midland Counties became converted into a fresh-water lake, in which our heterogeneous masses of sands and gravels were deposited, and over whose surface ice-floes drifted with their load of erratic blocks. But Dr. Crosskey's discovery of high level erratics, identical with the rocks of North Wales, on Rowley and Frankley Hills, near Birmingham, sadly interfered with this theory; for the natural boundaries of the Midland District are such that the surface of Lewis's great lake could not be higher than about four hundred feet, while the hills in question reach to nearly double this altitude.

Lewis at first assigned these high level boulders to a possible natural outcrop on these hills of old rocks, similar to those of North Wales, from which outcrop he suggested these boulders might have been derived. But in the year 1887, in company with Dr. Crosskey, he caused actual excavations to be made upon the summit of Frankley Hill; and an abundance of stiff boulder clay with similar Welsh erratics mixed with scratched Midland rocks, was met with below the soil. He frankly acknowledged that the presence of these high level boulders must be accounted for in some other manner; and he expressed his intention of revising the whole of his British work in consequence. His premature death a few months later defeated this intention; but

there are few things more touching than the dying request of this gifted worker to "my friend Dr. Crosskey," asking him to select and edit for publication such of his geological papers as might be useful for the advancement of science.]

How carefully and conscientiously Crosskey fulfilled the dying wish of his young friend (which proved indeed to be the final task of his own scientific life-work) all students of recent glacial literature are well aware. The volume of Lewis's papers which he edited—entitled "Notes on the Glacial Geology of Great Britain"—is not only a memorial of the energy and genius of the young American scientist, but it is an unconscious exposure of the rare kindness of heart and calm reasonableness of mind of the editor himself.

Upon my own appointment to the Chair of Geology in the Mason College, in 1881, Dr. Crosskey at once sought me out and extended to me the right-hand of fellowship. From that day onwards until his death he remained one of the staunchest and most generous of my Midland friends. Not a shadow of reserve interrupted the frankness and freedom of our intercourse. He took as deep an interest in my own geological work as I did in the progress of his glacial investigations. How keenly I feel the sad loss of his companionship and sympathy, those old geological friends who knew him best can alone appreciate.

He set an example to other lovers of science in the district, by joining the classes for local Geology in the College, and he was for years a frequent attendant upon the weekly geological excursions of the students, where his kindly frankness, his unaffected enjoyment of geological work, and his intimate knowledge of the Glacial Geology of the district made him a most welcome and delightful companion.

In conjunction with Mr. Fred. Martin, F.G.S., he amassed a typical collection of rock-specimens of Midland Boulders for the use of students of the subject. (This now forms the "Crosskey Collection" of the Geological Department of Mason College, to which he bequeathed it at his death.)

But not only did he encourage formal students of Geology with his presence and his sympathy, but he was always ready to spend and be spent for those who in any way had the slightest regard for geological science. He filled for some time the office of President of the Geological Section of the local Philosophical Society, and contributed in no small degree to the success of the Section by communicating many special papers on scientific subjects.

He was also a prominent and valued member of the local semi-scientific Vesey Club, of Sutton Coldfield, from its commencement, and read before it several papers on British and Foreign Geology. In July, 1890, a large number of the members made

an extended visit to Norway under the leadership of Sir J. B. Stone,—the original founder of the Club. Upon this excursion Crosskey accompanied us; and his relationships to our party on that excursion may perhaps here be cited as an example of the generous broad-mindedness with which he rejoiced in, and encouraged those who had even the very slightest pretention to scientific leanings. Although suffering from repeated attacks of illness during the entire month he remained in our company, he never lost his cheerfulness or failed to do his utmost to please and to interest the members of our party. He eloquently welcomed at Christiania on our behalf Dr. Nansen, and his own old friends the members of the University. He shared with us our interest in the absorbing problems of the Botany and the Geology of the country we passed through, and took voluminous notes and sketches of its glacial phenomena. He good humouredly discussed with our genial President, Sir Robert Ball, the causes of the Ice Age; or with myself and the other geologists the complexities of the geological history of the Norwegian rocks and fjords; taking all our banter and criticism of the various glacial theories in kindly part. In explaining to the younger members of the party the meaning of what they saw he was equally happy and sympathetic. All the members of the Vesey Club, who made with him that Norwegian journey, felt that they owed

him a debt of gratitude; and the illuminated address (lovingly decorated by the hands of the artistic members of the party) with which they subsequently presented him, was merely a spontaneous token of the affection and respect with which one and all had grown to regard him.

Dr. Crosskey was an occasional lecturer on Geology at various literary and scientific institutions such as the Philosophical Institutions of Manchester, Edinburgh, and Glasgow; the Royal Victoria Institute of London, &c.; and several of his most brilliant and stimulating addresses were delivered to working men, and to members of various local institutes in the Midlands.

He was also an occasional contributor of articles connected with Geology to various periodicals such as the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Modern Review*, and the *Theological Review*, &c. Some of these will be found noted in the list of his papers.

In Crosskey's mind and lifework Religion and Science were inseparably associated, and he was never perhaps so happy as in pointing out their mutual relations. He delivered courses of sermons to his own congregation on the "Relationships between Science and Religion;" and sermons upon the same subject at various meetings of the British Association. He also published a little school manual, now in its second edition, "The Method of Creation."

Of these matters, however it is not my province to speak. As a geologist I have confined myself in this sketch to the endeavour to point out the relationships of Crosskey's work and publications to the advancement of Science—in matters of fact and theory. Like every true scientist he regarded the former as of the oracles of God, and the latter as their provisional interpretation by the reason of man.

He followed with an absorbing interest, but with a calm and assured confidence, the slow unrolling and interpretation of the un-ending scroll of the geologic past by the toilers in our science, and he took his own fair and honest share in the work. To his philosophic mind it was plain from the first how inevitable it is that even the most conscientious workers shall for a time hold different views as to the exact meaning of almost every paragraph as it emerges faintly into view. But these temporary differences of opinion never disturbed his equanimity. He knew that in time every letter is destined to stand out bright and shining in the friction of earnest controversy, or bold and clear in the full light of wider research; so that stage by stage accord will be reached and the contest will move forward to those fainter lines which, in the meantime, have been laid bare to view. He knew that this ever advancing conflict, so stimulating to the worker and so mysterious to the outsider, is the surest evidence of scientific life and progress,



and that its cessation would be the prelude to stagnation and death.

But while he held steadily to his own theoretical opinions,—simply because they appeared to him to afford the most natural explanation of the facts. Crosskey was never a keen controversialist, either in public or in private. He was too sincere himself to question the sincerity of others, or to doubt that their theories were the honest outcome of their own convictions. Glaciologists of all shades of opinion looked upon him instinctively as a sympathetic and friendly fellow-worker. They confided to him without reserve their extremest and most original ideas; and they felt not the slightest hesitancy in confessing, in his presence, their ignorance of a novel fact, or their change of an old opinion. His frankness and his sympathy became as naturally reciprocated as they were given, and among the lovers of geological science Crosskey never made an enemy or lost a friend.

As an evidence of the depth and tenderness of his regard for honest men and honest work in science, the closing sentence of the last geological page he lived to sign, may perhaps, suffice; the more, as portraying the character of his departed friend, Crosskey all unconsciously limned his own.

“Those who knew him not, and may read this volume simply as geologists, will, it is believed, find they are in the company of one who walked with

Nature as a humble and loving student with singular fidelity, striving to describe what he saw, and having no other interest at heart save the discovery of what is true, both for the sake of science itself, and for the enrichment of life in its highest and noblest interests."

In the preparation of this sketch I have gratefully to acknowledge most generous assistance from many of Dr. Crosskey's scientific friends and colleagues. Professor James Geikie, LL.D., of Edinburgh, Professor John Young, M.D., and Mr. John Young, LL.D., of Glasgow, Professor T. G. Bonney, F.R.S., of London, and Mr. Percy Kendall, F.G.S., of the Yorkshire College, Leeds, kindly read and corrected portions of my original draft. Mr. Jerome Harrison, F.G.S., placed at my disposal his catalogue and analysis of Dr. Crosskey's Midland papers, and supplied me with a series of personal notes (from which I have extracted the paragraphs included in square brackets on the preceding pages), and Mr. Fred. Martin, F.G.S., kindly lent me copies of such of Dr. Crosskey's geological papers as their author had preserved.

CHARLES LAPWORTH,  
Mason College, Birmingham.

February 9th, 1895.

## CHAPTER XI.

### RECREATION AND HOLIDAY.

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the enormous industry of Dr. Crosskey and the multifarious labours for the benefit of mankind, into which he entered with an effectiveness so remarkable, we should form a very ill-proportioned estimate of the man if we passed by unnoted his recreations. In the midst of "laborious days" he loved to steal an hour when he could for the recreation of mind or body, and no year passed without the more protracted and deliberate delights of the lengthened summer holiday.

Amongst his recreations Dr. Crosskey always counted abstract study. Addressing the students of Manchester New College in his capacity of "Visitor," he once made this emphatic declaration:—

"Professionally, I suppose I am as closely engaged as any doctor or lawyer with an average amount of practice. In my day, I have had as much to do with the affairs of men as any ordinary member of society.

"I have found abstract study an absolute necessity of life; and, indeed, I have been a harder student since I left College than at College itself."

These studies embraced a wide range of literature and science. In his own special branch of physical research he became, as we have seen, a master. He was first attracted to geological investigation in the old Glasgow years, and he and Mrs. Crosskey might both be seen many a day carrying their hammers among the cliffs and mountains that skirt the Clyde. But many other sciences—especially astronomy—attracted his vivid interest, while in Shakespeare and the lesser poets of our own land, as well as in the giants of the Latin race, he never ceased to take a keen delight.

But many recreations apart from any books or even any physical research had a powerful charm for him. Isaac Walton never had a more devout disciple. He was still a bold and skilful skater in his later years. He was always an ardent gardener. The stern joy of mountain-climbing fascinated him. All that is lovely or sublime in scenery filled him with delight.

His pleasure in fishing led him to write a letter on one occasion which seems to have become almost a classic among the brethren of "the gentle craft." Mr. Daniel Arkell, of Birmingham, it appears, wrote to him about a year before his death to ask whether he "considered angling as a sport conducive to good health." Dr. Crosskey's reply appeared in the *Birmingham Daily Gazette* two or three days after his decease, and was copied thence into many other papers. The letter is as follows:—

"117, Gough Road, Birmingham,

"Oct. 12, 1892.

"Dear Mr. Arkell,

"You wrote me for my views as to what I think of fishing as 'a healthy sport both for body and mind.' 'Fishing' means for me throwing the fly for stream, river, and lake trout, sea trout, and salmon; and I have practically found it an unfailing source of both physical and mental refreshment. Wandering by the waterside the life of nature is seen and felt by the angler with peculiar and special weight and power. The movements of the clouds and the ever varying beauty of the shadows they cast, and the broken lights they permit to fall upon meadows and moors; the curving eddies of the stream, the breaking of their fast flowing waters by the rocks against which they chafe, and their quiet pausings in the deep pools; the direction of the lightest breezes as well as of the fast rushing blasts—all these and a hundred other details must be noted by the angler for guidance in the exercise of his art. He watches every insect playing among the bushes, and has to keep himself so quiet that the birds treat him as a friend, and in the Midlands the kingfisher will approach him. The angler's thoughts then mingle with the life of nature, and he forgets all the cares and worries of the busy city.

"The times and seasons in which I have enjoyed that happy forgetfulness of the world, without

which the fly can never be truly cast, have, I am sure, helped me to do some small part of the world's work better than I could otherwise have done.

"After a day's fishing, whether I return home with a full or empty basket it matters little, my judgment seems clearer, and I feel more able to untie the knots of intricate affairs—knots which often are more troublesome than even those that gather on a casting line among the trees on a windy day, but which yield to treatment far more easily I have found after I have forgotten them entirely in the eagerness of throwing the fly for a trout, than when I puzzle my brains over them continuously from morn to night in my study.

"I have been for many a long year and still am a very busy man, with many grave responsibilities flung upon me, and have in consequence often been preached to about the necessity for doing less in order to husband my energies. Idleness, however, is very irksome to me, and I am miserable unless I am either doing or studying something. There is not the slightest merit in this; it is my nature, just as it is in the nature of a trout to 'rise' or a bird to fly.

"What can I do and yet do nothing to outwear and outweary myself?

"This is a very important question for me, as it is for all busy men.

"The right answer I find to be this: 'Take your rod and go to a trout stream or a salmon pond!'

Then I am busily idle, and after such idleness I invariably become strong to act again, and feel as fresh as the heather on the moors or as ungathered flowers in the fields over which I have roamed.

"This is not only the 'opinion' for which you ask me; it has been my pleasant and invigorating experience.

"Very faithfully yours,

"HENRY W. CROSSKEY."

Of the impression Mr. Crosskey made on the most competent of judges as a mountaineer, we have pleasant evidence in the Christmas letters which reached him in several successive years from his Swiss guide, Emanuel Imseng. I make no apology for transcribing some parts of these kindly Christmas greetings exactly as they were written.

In 1883 Imseng writes to the Minister of the Church of the Messiah:

"You are a very good footman for such an old man. If you have been satisfied with me, and you come the next summer in Switzerland again, so I recommend me to be your guide."

In 1884, he says:

"Dear Mr. Henry!

"I bring you and Mss Crosskey my best congratulate for the christmas and new year.

"I wish you a good health, success, prosperity, and all what is the best for your life.

"Here is the weather always very good, and very few snow.

"I hope you come the next summer in Switzerland again, and than I hope to see you, and to speack, and to make several passes and little mountains with you. summer

"I have made last (year) many montains and passes.

"I thank you always very much fore the good (action) benefit; it have done you me last year and I will also never vorget you, but everlasting remember you, and be thankful.

"I remain your sincere, thankful friend and guide  
"EMMANUEL IMSENG."

Next Christmas brought the following epistle :

"I am delightet to see you here again this yare, and if we are healthy both of us to mak together some agreeable mountains or passes. I think we are able to mak together the Allalinhorn, Ulrichshorn, and the Weissmies in one day to the Alp of Almagel, and the other day to the top, or on the pass to Mont Moro, after over the Weisssthor from Mattmark to the Riffel or Riffelalp, and than perhaps something to Zermatt, the Breithorn, Cima di Jazzi, or Theodulpass. You kan choose of this what you like. You are old indeed, but strong and able enough to mak this; I am convince of this."

The letter sent at Christmas, 1886, runs thus :

"My dear Mr. Crosskey !



"Excuse me, if I disturb you in your business with this letter. You know, everybody write to his good friend to this season—why should I not write to this time? than you are certainly my best friend.

"I must tell you that I have had a very good season last summer, the best of all—I have mad too sevarel mountains in Oberland, I know thise mountains well now. Here is a great deal of snow this winter and very cold.

"I am very sorry that I could not make some excursions with your brother—Dr. Walter, last summer, I have seen and spoken with him, but I can not go with him on the mountains, than I was angagirt to the same time for two weeks with 3 other English-gentleman.

"I am healthy, the same hope I from you and your good family. I hope to see you again in Switzerland next year.

"I wish you—Mrs. Chrosskey and your daughters a happy Christmas and a good happy new year, good health and all what is the best for you.

"The best salutations for you, Mrs. Chrosskey—your daughters—and your brother Dr. Walter.

"I remain

"Your

truly and thankful

friend and guide

"IMSENG EMMANUEL"

A very cheery and very faithful "friend and guide"!

But whatever attractions Switzerland might have, Dr. Crosskey's heart was ever "in the Highlands." There he had made holiday in youth, and thither he turned with longing as age crept upon him. In August, 1892, he writes in a letter to a friend:

"Given the Highlands,—and those we love around us—; and I do not think the world has a richer gift,—or one that lives longer in its charms."

It is my good fortune to be able to incorporate here a picture of Dr. Crosskey in the midst of a Highland holiday, sent to me by his kind friend and host, Lord McLaren, one of Her Majesty's Lords in Ordinary of the Court of Session (Scotland).

Lord McLaren writes:—

"In 1878 I became tenant of a Highland residence, where, during the ensuing fifteen years I was accustomed to spend the Autumn vacations, and it was during this period that I saw much of Dr. Crosskey and learnt to appreciate more fully his remarkable gifts, and elevated, yet genial and kindly character. Dr. Crosskey was attached to the Highlands of Scotland by admiration of, and scientific interest in its beautiful scenery; and I may add, that, like many literary men, he delighted in fishing. In his later years he generally spent part of his vacation with his family in the West Highlands, and often came to visit us at Glencarron, sometimes with Mrs. Crosskey and sometimes alone.

"On their visits he generally spent the first half of the day in exploring the upper valley of the Carron, carrying with him a salmon rod and a volume of Shakespere,—the latter to help him to pass the time when the air was still and fish were not moving. If the streams were in good order, we might depend on our friend bringing home a fish: and, if fishing were impracticable, he would spend his time in reading out of doors, or surveying the country. The geology of Western Ross at that time presented some perplexing problems, and our friend after studying the published papers on the subject wished to see the country for himself. His impressions were communicated to me in conversations of which I regret that I have no notes, because his views were interesting and instructive.

"These solitary walks were varied by drives to Achnasheen and Loch Maree, and through the private deer-roads of the proprietor, Lord Wimborne, extending over a forest of about ten miles in diameter. These excursions were shared by my family and visitors. Dr. Crosskey's companionship and conversation on these occasions were much esteemed. He took an active interest in our pursuits, assisting in the choice of subjects for photography, such as groups of pine trees at Glencarron and Conlin, or mountain streams and turns in the forest where herds of deer might be seen grazing undisturbed by the sportsmen.

"On such occasions the conversation sometimes turned on economic questions connected with the life of the Highlands. Theoretically, both he and I were opposed to the system of estate-management, which has changed the face of the North Highlands by turning the land from pasture into recreation ground for sportsmen. But such is the charm of solitude in these mountain retreats, that we were obliged to admit that even if we had the power, we should not have the heart to make a change; and that the beauty of natural scenery had a value which could not be measured by the number of beings who might be capable of earning a subsistence under a purely utilitarian system of economy.

"In the evenings Dr. Crosskey generally made one of a whist party; and, although none of us professed to be players, by a curious exception to the law of probabilities, he and I in two successive summers took all the thirteen tricks of a deal. To prove that this was pure chance, my friend had the games played over again, and satisfied himself that by no art or skill could his opponents have avoided the result. This led to speculation as to whether it was possible that one of the political parties should secure all the seats at a general election, but it was agreed that even Birmingham, if restored to the palmy times when Bright and Chamberlain dictated the policy of the country, could not expect to carry everything before it.

"On those evenings of August or September (which were rare indeed) when the air was dry and the stars were visible, Dr. Crosskey sometimes joined me in the study of the phenomena of the heavens in a small observatory which I had put up at Glencarron. His knowledge of physical science made him an interested observer both of the objects examined and the instrumental means by which measures are taken and star-places are determined, and I do not think that the use of my instruments has given so much pleasure to any friend as it did to him. Dr. Crosskey, on the occasion of one of his later visits to me, made the acquaintance of a distinguished specialist in this branch of science, and with the talent of a good listener he renewed his interest in astronomy, and would, I think, if health had permitted, have given it a place with geology amongst his serious studies.

"With one exception, I think, these visits to Glencarron were subsequent to 1881, after I had left Parliament and the Bar, and had ceased to have an active interest in politics. Nevertheless, we conversed with the freedom of established friendship on the events of the year, and the merits and demerits of politicians and partizans. On personal questions Dr. Crosskey's view ever leaned to the side of charity. After the disruption of the Liberal party in 1886, I thought that Dr. Crosskey was more reserved than he had been in the expression

of his political views. It turned out that, while sympathising to a certain extent with the desire of the Irish people to have the control of their public business, he saw great difficulty in giving practical effect to the principle of local self-government. He lamented the severance of political ties between leaders whom he admired, and some of whom were personal friends. He feared that the cause of social improvement, and especially the expansion of national education, which he had much at heart, might be indefinitely retarded through the defection, or armed neutrality, of that section of the Liberal party which had declined to surrender its convictions to Mr. Gladstone. I think that at this time he would have been prepared to give *carte blanche* to a statesman who would undertake the Irish question, on condition that the intellectual advancement of the youth of England should be in safe hands. After the lapse of a year or two I found that Dr. Crosskey was more reconciled to the existing order of things. He told me that he was in agreement with Bright and Chamberlain on the Irish question, and he saw clearly that through the influence of Liberal Unionism, but still more through the irresistible force of public opinion, the Conservative party (then in power) were a progressive party in matters of legislation. On more than one occasion he spoke strongly of the demoralizing effect of the English Poor Law, and approved heartily of the

ideas of Bismarck and Chamberlain in relation to state-aided insurance against the calamities of old age. To the last he cherished a hope of the reinstatement of Liberalism on the old lines as the governing policy of England, but admitted that this could not be in the near future.

“Dr. Crosskey’s last visit to me was in the Autumn of 1892. During the preceding year his health had been broken by chronic dyspepsia, but he had lately been much benefited by medical treatment, and he looked forward hopefully to the restoration of health, though with lessened power of active work. His cheerful and philosophic temperament sustained him under what must have been one of the greatest trials of life, the renunciation of his active duties on the Birmingham School Board. His enjoyment of country life was unabated; and, when compelled by rough weather to remain indoors, he sometimes in response to their invitation entertained his friends by reading a play of Shakespeare. Dr. Crosskey was a good reader; his voice was clear and musical, with a capacity for expressing character and sentiment by delicate modulations. The declamatory style, so distasteful to English ears, was as foreign to his tastes and habits as false sentiment was to his heart.”

This seems to me the best place to insert some series of letters to friends written by Dr. Crosskey

and entrusted to me by the recipients. There are indeed individual letters among them by no means associated with "Recreation and Holiday." Passages will be found written in moments of profound sorrow. But I do not like to separate these from the others. It seems better to show the man as the faithful friend of those to whom he wrote, alike in gaiety and in grief. Some of the letters, too, are written at home, not in holiday time at all. Still I think they show that letter-writing to friends for love's sake, as distinguished from business correspondence, was also one of the Doctor's "recreations;" and certainly some of these letters must have carried sunshine to the hearts of those to whom they were written. And so I let the home letters take their place among those written from beloved Scotland or the Mediterranean shores.

The first series are to Miss Ellen Russell, daughter of a former and sister of a more recent chairman of the Committee of the Church of the Messiah, and one of a family whom Dr. Crosskey held in the deepest affection and respect. I merely give the month and year at the head of each letter or extract from a letter.

*September, 1877.*

"Some few days of our holiday will live in memory as simply perfect. Our sail along the 'Great Glen' to Inverness was one; not a cloud or a ripple. It was impossible almost to tell where the



land ended, and the waters of the lake began; each leaf and the very lichen on the rocks, as well as the high crags, were in the waters beneath, as *really existing* as in the upper air—at least for the passing hour. We sailed on waters that seemed to divide two worlds; and the world beneath, which a ripple could destroy, was perhaps the more tenderly beautiful of the two.

“Another ‘high day’ was on Iona, where we spent the night, letting the tourists depart in the steamer, and in peace and silence enjoying—or rather, receiving as a gift of gifts, the noblest of seas, with its strange islands, from shores mystic and weird with the tombs of saints and kings. No *green* painter could use, would be too delicately vivid for the waters that roll *here* on the whitest possible sands, and *there* dark against the rocks of rose coloured granite.

“The Glencoe Mountains can answer the old question, ‘Stands Scotland where it did?’ Scenery ought never to be compared in the way of good, better, best, any more than true poets should be compared as better, or worse. Each true poet has his own song, and this is enough for him, and for all who hear him. Wales and Scotland are each as poems, each with its own glory.”

*September, 1880.*

“The glory of the Highlands in these parts, this year has been the Heather. I have never seen it in

such rich blossom; miles and miles of mountain slopes and valleys have been rosy with it. Touched by the sun, at evening time, it has made earth unearthly as sunset clouds; and in the glowing brightness of the hot day, it has been so delicate in its hue, as to temper the radiance."

*September, 1885.*

"I have never had sadder tidings than those in your letter. Dr. Russell is among those loved and honoured most in my heart of hearts. Give him my dear love; tell him how deep is the love for him, in the hearts of all who know him, and how all the prayers, and glorious and divine hopes, that gather around the holy ones of God, are around him, in reverence as in love."

*December, 1887.*

"To-morrow I am going to my native place to help celebrate the *Bicentenary* of the old Lewes chapel. So many memories cling around it, that I could not refuse; it was very dear to my father and mother, as their House of prayer, and Sunday after Sunday, they never failed to take their children with them to its Services."

*August, 1889.*

"You address us from the 'Hill Top'; we might almost address you, From the end of the peopled world, for this is about the loneliest of all the lonely places, in which we have made holiday. The few

farms stretching along the side of the Loch are at intervals of miles apart, and each farm is worked in a patriarchal way by the family only, so that there are no cottages, with Families of labourers about, and there is no road for traffic, to any places beyond the odd farmsteads, scattered so widely on the hill side, that two or three in the distance are alone visible. This morning we were sailing on the Loch, which runs up some 6 or 7 miles, and were the only people on it. Occasionally the sound of a voice from the reapers in an oatfield, came across the water, or we might have fancied ourselves in an uninhabited world.

“The situation of our house is very striking. It is on a rock, overlooking the Loch. The mountains called the ‘Paps of Jura’ face our window, a tongue of low land on the opposite shore of the Loch separating us from the ‘Sound.’ Seaward, rocky islands stand at the Mouth, while the Loch winds inland among the rugged and broken Argyllshire hills, which stand in groups of Peaks, range behind range. The sun sets opposite our door, and often lights up the whole scene in colours so gorgeous, that in a picture they would be pronounced ‘unnatural,’—colours which throw into the shade, the gold, and silver, and emeralds, and sapphires of the earth.”

“I am leading the life of a Savage, tempered by Novels, and a game of cards. Sailing, or wandering

among the Moors, or fishing all day, are my most serious avocations. A novel is a kind of reminder of the ways of the curious creatures called Men and Women, who (I remember) are to be found in their haunts, like grouse among the heather, whenever travellers choose to look for them."

*February, 1892.*

"The Hôtel is at the very end of a narrow promontory, stretching out about three miles into the Mediterranean, which is as blue as imagination can picture. From the door, an avenue of palms, eucalyptus trees, and olives, leads to the rocky shore. Around us in every direction are gardens, in which geraniums, roses, carnations are beginning to bloom, and large anemones are in perfection, together with groves of orange trees, the ripe fruit hanging in golden balls upon them. There is far more variety of *colour* in the vegetation of this particular 'Cap,' than I fancied there would be, with the predominance in the Riviera of the grey Olives. Here, a mimosa drops its bright branches of blossom in lavish profusion; there, is the silver blue of large aloes; while large and gracefully leaved palms of many species mingle with shrubs of varying hues, and among the grey olives, the eucalyptus trees rise. One of the most wonderfully charming characteristics of the scene around us is brought about by the mingling of snow clad mountains, with sub-tropical surroundings. Standing on the terrace of

the Hôtel, immediately beneath one is an orange grove; a bay, blue as the bluest sky, is formed on the west by the serrated Estérol Mountains, and along its shores are green fields and olive woods: and then northward, bounding the scene are snow clad mountains,—range after range—standing out clearly against a summer sky.”

The next series of letters are addressed to Mr. Herbert New, jun., who held office at the Church of the Messiah.

*August, 1885.*

“You may be glad to know that we have found lovely holiday quarters—and that our venture into unknown regions has proved fortunate. While I gain the solitude and quiet, in which perfect rest renews one’s energies, and prepares for the business of the world, Mrs. Crosskey is not overburdened with anxieties about ‘supplies’—drawn indeed from afar—for we have no shop, no village beyond a few huts a mile off, no nothing indeed, but loch, and sea and hills;—but still supplies come in some passing cart; and farm house produce is abundant. The sea comes to our door, winding in and out, among islands and promontories—some rocky, some covered with verdure; in the bay before our window, a seal was seen catching a large sea trout; and a whale rolled in last evening on a visit. The loch opens to the broad ocean a few miles down; while landward it mixes itself up with hills and glens, in

a fairy-world fashion,—now narrowing to a river, now opening out into a lake,—with infinite variety of retreat, and change of view. The sun sets before us, over the hills of the Isle of Jura—flooding the loch, until it is liquid light. I have not known for years such a season of sunshine as this—some thunder-clouds are travelling about to-day,—but there has scarce been a ripple on the water.

“I feel already greatly refreshed,—and trust to be as strong as ever in my life, for next season’s work. The absolute quiet we enjoy here,—nothing and nobody to trouble, wander where we will by land or sea—steadies one’s nerves after the anxious responsibilities and activities of Birmingham.”

*September, 1888.*

“Wind and weather permitting, I expect to be home in the course of next Sunday,—so as to have the week before me for work.

“We have had a very invigorating time in these islands, swept as they are by the Atlantic winds,—which at this moment are rushing as a hurricane. The crags and mists; and island-studded sea, with its innumerable arms stretching through the land; and the hundreds of lochs which occupy almost as much space on the island, as the rocky land itself—are very weird; while the few scattered crofts, with their plots of oats, struggling for life, and the grave weathered looking crofters, watching sea and

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sky, add to the lonely desolation of the Island. But like Shelley, 'I love all waste and desolate places,'—I suppose as a contrast to the civilized haunts of men;—it seems to prepare one to face the problems of our supposed 'civilization.'"

*August, 1889.*

"This is one of the most out of the way of Highland quarters. The farm house we inhabit, is perched on a rock, on the borders of Loch Sween, which flows from the Sound of Jura, into the heart of a group of rugged hills. The few farms scattered about are miles apart, and are worked on the patriarchal system by the Household. One of the results of the depopulation of the Highlands has been to bring this reversion to Patriarchal customs, labourers for odd jobs not being to be had. On this farm, the farmer and his wife, four sons and a daughter work the whole hillside, with its sheep, cattle, and oats and potatoe fields. The result is socially, a difficulty for the sons, as they become young men,—the farm yielding no proper wage for them, and yet they cannot be dispensed with.

"Our communication with the outer world depends on a post cart, which jogs along three times a week only,—bringing letters and supplies from Lochgilphead, 16 miles off.

"We are in such good condition that we walked 4½ miles to Church this morning;—instead of hot

Calvinism, even in this thoroughly Highland district, we heard that no sect was *the* Church,—but that members of all Sects could belong to the one invisible Church, and that it is narrow minded to put any limits to the Gospel of Salvation.

“The minister ‘refreshed’ us after Service, at the manse,—and clearly does *not* regard heretics as people from whom the dust of his feet ought to be shaken off.

“We have quite a family gathering in this remote region, to temper its loneliness,—and strangely lonely it is after Birmingham! No one passes,—the road leads nowhere in particular,—an occasional sail is seen in the Loch,—and we can only have faith that there is somewhere a ‘world’ of busy folk,—which bears the name of being ‘civilized!’”

*February, 1892.*

“We have indeed passed into a new world,—which adds for us novelty to its charms. The Hotel in which we are living is at the extreme point of a narrow promontory, stretching three miles into the Mediterranean;—it is situated on a gentle slope, which is not five minutes walk, through an avenue of Palms, Eucalyptus trees, and Olives, from the shore. In the gardens around, roses, anemones, carnations, cyclamens are blooming,—fantastic cacti start up here and there, among large aloes and palms;—great Geranium and Marguerite bushes are in



flower;—groves of orange trees laden with almost ripened oranges are met with on every side;—for shade one can wander among fir woods and olive woods. To the west is the bay in which Cannes nestles, bounded by the serrated ridge of the Estérol mountains. To the east the bay of which Nice is the centre. Standing on the plateau near our door, one has a grove of orange trees at one's feet, then come the grey olive trees and fertile gardens,—and then, bounding the scene to the north, the snow clad Maritime Alps;—the strangest and loveliest combination of sub-tropical vegetation and ice-clad mountains, of which imagination can conceive.

“Much as I had heard of the *blue* of the Mediterranean, it exceeds in intensity all that painters can paint,—and from the windows of our room on the sunny side of the house, and facing south-west, it is always before us. Our life is the quietest possible;—being far from any town, all the noise and hustle and tumult of the streets is absent. In truth, if one must be idle, this is the place of places to be idle in. On bright blue dry days, I simply feel with Emerson, that it is ‘enough to be alive.’ All that one wishes to do is simply to receive and enjoy the loveliness spread around.

“The Hotel is full,—chiefly of English of a highly respectable type;—some few are artists, others are seeking the climate of the Riviera without the gaieties of the towns—so that we are very much on

our good behaviour,—and there are no dashing extravagancies or revelries to lure one from the steady path of Health-seeking. Early to bed and not particularly early to rise,—basking and loafing by the sea or in the gardens,—responding with an avidity I have not known for months, to the call to déjeuner and dinner,—these are the orders of the day.”

*March, 1892.*

“I am rather hungering and thirsting for ‘Church’ news,—although I doubt not that you at home find Sundays come and go very much as usual,—yet to me, absence among foreign and unaccustomed surroundings throws a glamour of eventfulness over the most common place occurrences. If you could find time to post a letter *not later than Tuesday*, addressed—Hotel de Londres, Monte Carlo, Monaco—I shall be glad. We are going for a few days, to that both famous and infamous place, which everyone tells us we ought to see for its loveliness, whatever we may think of its morals.

“We have had a very pleasant company here; with Mr. Haweis,—Grant Allen,—and the Dean of Westminster, you will see what a mixture of people we are moving among.

“I have been chiefly resting and loafing, resting and loafing,—and doing nothing,—and am certainly the better for it. I should of course, have liked to have jumped at a bound into true athletic ‘form,’

—but I have found that the Drs. were right in insisting that I must have *time*,—and Mrs. Crosskey declares herself quite satisfied with the rate of progress, and equally satisfied that the Riviera has been exactly the place for us to come to.

“We are having,—after some wind-storms,—simply the loveliest midsummer weather,—this afternoon taking tea in the garden.

“By the way, I quite share the new Junior Warden’s objection (of which you told me) to giving *notices* from the pulpit. Can you devise any other plan? At Stopford Brooke’s I think they are printed *on a slip*;—would this be too expensive?”

*September, 1892.*

“That I should come down to a Hydro!—it is like putting a being whose instincts are those of the Chamois of the Mountains, into a menagerie! A lover of ‘waste and desolate places,’—of untrammelled freedom among the rocks,—of winds and mists, and storms among the Heights,—of rivers and cataracts,—to be—rested on couches, fed by rule, kept quiet, and taken gently in hand by a Bath attendant, like a baby by its nurse!! It’s a fearful descent for a (so called) Holiday time!”

*July, 1893.*

“The above, is the address I promised to send. We are comfortably settled down in rooms a few

yards from the sea. I cannot say that as a village, Borth is picturesque,—but there is a wide, noble, expanse of sea before us; the waves are those long rolling ones which are never silent, and make the sea a living presence; and the air is very fresh and invigorating.

“We never tire of the sea,—the play of whom upon the expanse before us gives an endless variety of expression,—as much as the play of emotion to a human countenance.”

I am permitted by Mrs. Lionel Crosskey, the widow of his darling son, to close this chapter with a series of letters addressed to her.

*Birmingham, Feb. 16, 1881.*

“My dear Sarah,

“I was delighted to receive your Christmas greeting—and it added much to the *drawing-together* feeling that gives *Xmas* its unchanging and unfading charm to have your message of sympathy and love. But I exclaimed in the words of an immortal author with whose works your range of reading must have made you familiar—‘GOODNESS gracious’ as Box observed—‘GRACIOUS goodness’—as Cox retorted—that you should fancy it an AUDACITY (!) to write such a quiet uncritical, and simple minded soul as I am. Why, you cannot imagine any one to whom it should be easier to write than to such a loafer on the heather—an

idler by the stream—a gatherer of the blackberries—and lover of the ‘most unconsidered trifles’ of light and shadow playing over the moorland. In my heart, I am the most uncritical soul who ever stretched himself on the turf beneath a tree, content to listen to any honey seeking bee that might choose to hum or the chirp of any sparrow that might call its mate!

“That was indeed a happy time on those Grampians;—we all are hoping that you will get some other holiday season with us on some hill side or in some valley.—Spenser I have been clinging to—and am going to discourse about the poems to the class of ladies I have in the spring,—in their connection with the history of Religion in England. The point of course is, that they were part of the revolt against the ecclesiastical type of life under which Europe had groaned.

“The outburst of poetry was the rise of the Imagination and the heart of man against the unlovely ideal of monk and nun. I attribute the world’s new history and the Reformation not so much to dogmatic causes and theological arguments, as to the spirit of LIFE which threw off its bondage and found speech in the ‘Faery Queen’ and the other mighty poetry of that golden age. Man knew himself at last more divine in his natural love and joy than in the restraints of the ecclesiastical Ideal. Religion changed because there was a change in the

ideal of Life—and Spenser set it to music. ‘Of course we are all strenuously busy as usual’—Mrs. Crosskey is in the agonies of preparing a speech—next Tuesday there is to be a great demonstration of Women in the Town Hall!! and she has consented to take the chair!!! Women are to come in their thousands—FREE—a few poor men are to get in at 2/6 each! Such are man’s rights, when women ask the suffrage!! Imagine men calling a meeting and admitting men free, and women 2/6! It is to show that women are prepared to ask votes themselves—and that they can manage affairs as well as their tyrants!

“To-night Tom’s 21st Birthday will be celebrated by a ball in the Birmingham Town Hall—at least, there is a dance there in connection with the School of Art and he is going with the youngsters.

“I believe I am engaged also for the first polka—but I’ve a Bible class to teach first—so that my ideal does not seem to be ecclesiastical in its combination of duties and pleasures.

“We hear good tidings from London—Leo seems better—I saw his master the other day and he—you will be surprised to hear—did *not* speak ill of him—indeed, so much to the contrary that if ears tingle when people are spoken ill of, there must have been some odd involuntary motion of some part considerable of the body at the doing of the opposite.

"I shall be in London next month and see him. I have just asked Mrs. Crosskey if she has a message and she says Leo has stolen your photograph—if you don't want him run in by the police you had better &c., &c., &c.

"So they are back to the pretty Mrs. S.'s—I *knew they would go back*—I say no more—I make no remark—only she *is* a very pleasant looking young lady—and husbands have been sent to another and a better world before now—but I say nothing—I knew it however.

"We have had awful weather—some skating but roughish ice—I wanted to go back to that glen near the Half Way, where it was warm last summer—and why should it have changed? It will never lose its sun-light.

"All unite in dear love.

"I find I have two copies of Nicol's Poems—and hereby present you with one of them as a memory of the Half Way. It is to be bound and then sent."

*Birmingham, Dec. 8, 1882.*

"Hearty thanks for all your hearty wishes—much love for much love—with many congratulations that you have turned out 'a folk' after all the weird and fearful prophecyings attendant on your entrance into the world.

"For myself, I feel quite an ordinary mortal of the commonest type in comparison with one who

has had such a prophecy uttered over her—and who could therefore have been no ordinary baby—nay much more, a most remarkable new comer!

“We are looking forward with much delight to your visit at *Xmas*; you must make it as long a one as possible. Such fires, and floods, and storms as now prevail, will we hope pass and permit us poor mortals to nestle cosily round *Xmas* hearths and homes.

“Come as soon as you can and stop as long as you can.

“Love from everybody to everybody.”

*Birmingham, Oct. 21, 1886.*

“I am sending you some books of dear Leo’s—he left on my shelves. There are two little volumes which I have had bound through their special interest. You know how fond of flowers he was, from his earliest childhood. One of the sweet pictures my mind has of him is as a very little lad whom before breakfast I found brooding over a flower bed in our garden at ‘*Tighnabruaich*’ and when I asked him what he was doing he said he had got up early and come out to see how the flowers had grown in the night.

“His loving meditative look, as he peered into the flower bed, has always haunted me. His grand-mamma (my mother) sent him the little volumes on wild flowers I forward—and his delight in them was



great. They were among my children-books, much used and torn, but the binder has put them in good order; and I think you will like to have them.

"We like the cross you describe—a well-proportioned one on three steps;—and should very much desire the lovely words he so loved—and which Janet had told me he so often quoted—put upon it, Rev. XXI, 4—the whole verse would be very fitting."

*Birmingham, Jan. 6. 1887.*

"We were often and often thinking of you during the holiday time—laden as it is with those sweetest and holiest of memories which are our saddest sorrows—sorrows which can only be endured by seeking strength to convert them into our divinest hopes. Some lines in that poem Leo loved so tenderly—often come into my mind—to check the tendency to look upon all things too darkly, which when one sits and thinks cannot but sometimes come over us:—the lines where, with a great sigh the poet mourns that in passing away from earth we give to our beloved—bitter memories to make the whole earth blasted for our sake.

"I am sure Leo will not desire that this gift should fall on us—but that we should try to make the whole earth blessed for his sake. We must try to live, as he would have us live—although it cannot but be in the light of evening—ere the sleep comes—from which we trust we may awaken in the full

light of a glorious dawning Day. I am sure that which you feel is rightly as nobly felt—and that your great grief makes and will make dearer the joy of others—and be in itself an inspiration to guide in that blessed way of peace which passes through the fair garden of others' happiness.

"One thing I scarcely need say—you have a home here—any when—you make us all happier by being with us.—You must always consider that at any moment—and under any circumstances—here, you can come as to your own home—and your own home it is. We hope you will always arrange for some good part of each year to be spent with us. To be with us, we trust will become a part of all your arrangements. Leo comes in spirit with you. Your presence makes us feel more vividly that there is one family in *Earth and Heaven*.

"I shall be very happy to conduct the service, as proposed—and am delighted Eliza will so soon be married. At longest, life is all too brief for those who love."

*Birmingham, May 1, 1887.*

"We are very glad you are so bravely working away, to set in order and adorn as you can, your new abode. Perhaps it is best that your old dear home—should live in undisturbed memory—as a home unchanged by any new associations.

"The years must have brought many changes to 21, Redcliffe Square—now to you, it will never

change. It will live ever, as it was; what it was, it *is* now to you and ever shall be—no feature altered. Many a little thing must have shifted its position—new groups of friends have come—new interests unfolded there—now, this cannot be. It must remain to you untouched.

“I am so glad the crocuses came up and smiled over our dear one.

“Of course we are busy—as ever. I am opening a new church at Kilbarchan next Sunday.

“I expect to pass thro’ Edinburgh and see Lord McLaren on Friday. In Glasgow I stop with Mrs. W. Teacher, and return home on Tuesday.

“We are all hoping to see you very soon—you will of course come whenever you can.

“You may have heard that Alex. Paterson has lost his wife—another of this world’s strange, strange sorrows—

“You know how Leo and all of us like Alex.—and his wife was a delightful wife to him.”

*Loch Maddy, I. of North Uist,*

*Aug. 23, 1887.*

“Jacob arrived last night all right—and has given me your welcome letter. It does feel so out-of-the-world-ish here—that to have a letter hand-delivered was like a grasp of the hand.

“I seem to live with Leo in these wild Highlands he loved so well—he enjoyed with all his heart on these weirdly desolate places—only desolate to the

outer eye; not desolate in their strange suggestions of Infinite Peace—of enduring strength—of boundlessness in everything. I think it is the way in which barren crags—wild seas—and stretches of moorland—suggest infinity—that always causes the North Highlands to bring me far more peace than the woods and gardens at the South.

“I remember well how Leo enjoyed Eigg—and we went in to its harbour as we came.

“This North Uisk is absolutely barren—not a walking stick as Dr. Johnson says could be cut.—A rough semicircle of craggy peaks are grouped around this narrow neck of land stretching between the Minch and the Atlantic;—through this, arms of the sea wind like veins in the hand—here, there and everywhere—to get from one point—a mile perhaps from another as the crow flies—you may have to walk a couple of hours, to get round all these creeks and inlets.

“On Sunday we were on one of the high hills and saw from St. Kilda to Skye one direction—Northward Isle of Harris—and Southward S. Uist—and a dozen islands all around.

“When the sunlight falls on the green patches of islands—the golden grass, the heather, and the crags—and a myriad lakes and inlets add their bright blue—one cannot but believe that things unseen cannot be less glorious than things seen.

“We are returning at the end of the week—greatly invigorated—then, I spend a few days in

Manchester at the British Association—and hope and trust Mrs. Crosskey will go with me to Lord McLaren's in September.

“I am writing a gossiping letter in this outside of the world place—as a link to the dear interests in the world visible—and the world invisible.”

*Birmingham, Oct. 22, 1887.*

“Always, always, come to us, dear Sarah, either through written words or (as ever welcome) in the person of your own dear self—whenever your heart is strained by some strangely startling experience—as on that Sunday when you last wrote.

“There is such joy as *can* abide in the heart of sorrow—to know that you find any refuge in our sympathy—and can utter out all that can be told to others.

“Often and often some little thing—a chance memory of some old day of comradeship with our darling Leo—a verse of lovely poetry—a touch of humour—a brightness in the sky—a flower—brings him very, very near—but *that* text must have suddenly opened to your trembling mortal gaze a vast world unseen.

“I often recall the words

‘Thy voice is on the rolling air;  
I hear thee where the waters run;  
Thou standest in the rising sun,  
And in the setting thou art fair.’

"We sent you a box of the flowers, which in old days I always thought of sending him when the first slips were planted, and a few weeks back we sent to Margate a box of some white ones only.

"You ask for news of us—news *is* babies almost—they are so beginning to twine about all things."

*Birmingham, Oct. 27, 1887.*

"Our poor chrysanthemums! Vide enclosure! I fear your next door neighbours do not yet know of your existence!

"Can you not make some awful disturbance—so that they may send in to quiet you—and get your name; or make a number of people ring at their door and ask for *you* by mistake about midnight, on four successive nights, making them get up from their beds—to remember it; or give No. 2 as your address to your butcher and baker—to take them your meat and bread—or misdirect your own parcels and send your servant to them, for them—or something to cure me of putting 2 as your No.!

"The box is a nice posting one—so spite of the withered flowers, you may as well see our good intentions."

*Birmingham, March 21, 1889.*

"You will have heard—if the general turmoil of the event has not proved too much for letter writing—of the arrival of Mab's *daughter*. Both mother and daughter are doing excellently. I was in Lon-

BB

don for one of my hurried visits for the day, on Tuesday, and found on my return a general commotion had taken place in the afternoon.

"Cabs, with nurses and doctors, had filled Charlotte Road, so that Fred had a difficulty in making his way through them, he says.

"However, all is well—and there is no anxiety. Cyril and his nurse are with us. To hear the new baby cry makes him chuckle—he clearly thinks she is one of his squeaking toys."

*Birmingham, Oct. 28, 1891.*

"You will like to know how my attempt to shirk work, and reduce study to novel reading is getting on—Well; here am I in bed, feeling remarkably well;—and yet in solemn state awaiting the Dr.

"I take up the *Daily Post* and find a paragraph announcing 'illness of Dr. C.'—'acting under medical advice'—'shortly going to the South of France!!'

"The fact is, I have been acting the invalid too well—and have shown far too much histrionic ability. It was all very well to have a few weeks escape from sermons—but I did not mean anything more—and am getting far more than I bargained for, when the Dr. insists that I am not to enter the pulpit for three months and am to go away so as to be delivered from all committees and engagements.

"True, he declares that I have no organic disease, and that at the end of that time he has no doubt

I shall be as strong as ever—so far he sees through me and *almost* discovers the sham—but like many great men stops on the verge of the truth; and now I really want to stop at home and get on with my work and have done with Christmas-ing, I am to be hoist with my own petard and projected I don't know where!!

"In the course of about a fortnight or so, Mrs. Crosskey and I are—it is decreed—to be sent off—where?—that is the difficulty—all kinds of plans float in the air.

"To warmth and sunshine, says the Dr., and *Cannes* seems a probable destination. We have never seen the sunny south.

"Can you not defer your North visit and pack up your trunk and personally conduct us somewhere? It would be delightful and some compensation for this ultra stupidity of being driven from work I particularly wish to do.

"Tell me anything you can about the South of France—intermixed with any gossip, no matter how ill-natured or good-natured. I'm in such a temper at being treated as a baby, and taken seriously when I only meant to get an excuse for a little loafing idleness that I will believe anything."

*Birmingham, Feb. 3, 1892.*

"The Dr. declares for an improvement 'all along the line.' I am promoted to a little fish diet and am beginning to feel confinement in my room



dull. I was to have gone into the garden to-day but it is too cold—but after next week is over it is thought that I shall be quite able to travel. In fact, were it not for the Drs., I should have announced that in a week or two I should do this, that, and the other in the way of John P. Robinson he, who thought the world would never get on unless he said 'gee.'

"Thanks for Eliza's letter—and all the information. I think I see the way of travelling, IF it is to be the Riviera—and it seems to be announced in the newspapers generally that it is—so that I shall be regarded as a regular, rank impostor if I do not ruin myself by the expedition!

"I will write again as soon as any plans become clear, or before—because decision seems to shut the door on speculation too closely for a man on the sofa who in imagination may as well travel everywhere and anywhere to pass the time."

*Birmingham, Feb. 12, 1892.*

"Spite of all my confessions—viz., that I am a 'fraud'—and really well—and merely have been amusing myself by 'doing' the Drs., etc., etc.—like some spreeish youth who dresses himself up as a ghost in a country-house—it is fixed that Birmingham is to be rid of me on Tuesday.

"On Tuesday, we propose to take the train due at Euston at 2.35; drive to Victoria Station and go on

by the London Chatham and Dover at 4.20—sleeping at Dover and going on to Paris, if the weather is decent, the next day. Mr. Dixon has so highly recommended to us, as very fresh, quiet, and comfortable, an Hotel right at the end of the Cap d'Antibes—that we are arranging to go there in the first instance. Dixon has spent a winter there and is enthusiastic about it—and has written to friends there to prepare our way. After resting at the Cap d'Antibes, we shall move about and explore the district, and if we happen to see 'Monte Carlo' written up at a station—we may possibly do as the man in Dickens, who walking with a young lady said, 'Oh! there's a Church—let's go in and get married'—and so we may say, 'Oh there's Monte Carlo—let's have a look at it'—and so do.

“By one of those mysterious methods of management in which Continental Railway authorities delight, it seems that if we return from the Riviera by the same way, via Marseilles, that we travel there—it costs more than if we return via Genoa, Milan, Mont Cenis and Mâcon (i.e., for tickets with the extended time we shall require.) There are therefore visions in the air of Italian cities—and if we find reason to think that my invalidism PARTICULARLY needs the climate (say) of Florence, and that such a climate is equivalent to the strychnine which is my present aqua vitæ, why there looms a POSSIBILITY of uniting pecuniary bankruptcy with

the renovation of physical health by extending our travels. However—we shall decide on our plans after experiencing the effects of a rest at Cap d'Antibes.

“I am delighted with the account you give of the acceptable services of Brooke Herford at Hampstead—give him my warmest welcome.”

*Grand Hotel du Cap d'Antibes,  
Alpes Maritimes, Feb. 20, 1892.*

“We have carried out our programme very successfully—and in spite of the long journey and the snow-storms, feel already quite revived. At Dover, on Wednesday during breakfast, snow fell heavily and we almost gave up hope of crossing, especially since the night had been wild—but the wind suddenly fell and the sun shone, and we fortunately had courage to sail—and were rewarded by a calm passage of one hour and fifteen minutes! Indeed, in a deck cabin we simply were almost as on a sofa in a room and scarcely felt a heave. At Paris, the snow was in heaps by the side of the streets—and the roads were very slippery—however we managed under Cecil's escort to surmount all difficulties, and after a night's rest were fresh for our long run to Marseilles.

“We reached Marseilles at midnight, and on Friday, were at Antibes Station at about four in the afternoon, leaving Marseilles about eleven in the

morning. Snow almost all the way to Marseilles—then rain—but we were quite warm and cosy—and we are now in another world. The orange trees are laden with ripened oranges—roses are in bloom—flowering shrubs of exquisite colour abound around us—a bed of cyclamen I saw just now was fair enough to make one worship it.

“The rain fell here a day ago and has freshened everything and taken away the sultriness from the air—the sky is cloudy, but the glass is rising and the sun has been shining warmly enough for basking. Altogether, the place is the loveliest of all quiet retreats.

“The Hotel is on a slight eminence, not five minutes from the blue sea. We have a room on the sunny side, with two windows overlooking the garden and the sea.

“Never having seen this subtropical vegetation, every step reveals ‘some new thing.’ We are out from the mainland about two and a half miles. Cannes forms part of our picture—its villas spread along one side of the bay. The Mediterranean ‘blue’ is a perpetual marvel.

“As for work—the general effect of the place is to make one disposed to do nothing and do it well—so that the surroundings will dispose me to continue to play the rôle of an invalid and resolve into idleness the whole duty of man!

“When I return, it will be well if any work at all

can be got out of me! I shall be converted into a regular loafer!

"The good friends who have insisted on my doing nothing, will perhaps find that I have learnt the lesson too well!! If being ill is regularly to mean gathering roses in February—basking under palms—living under a blue sky—and dreaming by a blue sea—why—'illness' will perhaps seize upon one whenever the frost comes and the snow falls!!—and be of a kind that will baffle the doctors—and convert a man who has been anxious about many things into one who will let the world wag as it will and believe any nonsense it chooses.

"Mamma was a little tired—but we have both borne the journey wonderfully well."

*Monaco, 22 March, 1892.*

"I am writing in the sumptuous, luxurious and ornately gilded rooms open to all visitors freely (on presentation of their card) by the authorities of Monaco—who thrive on the general wickedness of the human race. Everything that can be done to make the place attractive is done—and then having you there, they trust, and not in vain, that a sufficient number will be tempted to try to make their fortunes by a rolling ball or a deal of cards! although everybody knows that the 'chances' (so called) are certainties for the 'Bank.' You have the use of large rooms, with every

provision for ease; all the chief papers and reviews of Europe are provided—and everything is on the scale of the most luxurious club. Concerts are given daily by one of the finest bands in Europe, in a hall which is splendidly adapted for the purpose and in which every seat is a soft velvet-covered arm-chair.

“No one asks you to gamble—you go if you like into the gambling rooms or keep out of them. There are most respectable *puters* with wife and sons and daughters—the types of propriety:—and there are well dressed ladies—and there are those who make you feel you had better look after your pockets, although they are apparently (save in countenance) all right—and there are gaudy folks who certainly do *not* look all right—the strangest mixture probably in the world.

“But Monte Carlo itself is lovely—the air is delicious—the sea views charming—and the gardens are full of magnificent plants and trees of tropical type. Nothing more genial than the climate can be imagined. We sit on the terraces over-looking the sea and its lovely bays—and idle about—and it feels enough to be alive and lazy. The climate is refreshing to both Mamma and me—and we are both far better than in the frost and snow we left behind. Indeed, I am again progressing every day, I think; and beginning to ‘peck’ far more freely at my food. We have found a place on a terrace with one of the

most beautiful of views, where we can get delicious English 'afternoon teas' of brown bread and butter and cakes—and to take this in the open air is one great event of the day! Then we go to the concert—look into the gambling rooms, to study human nature of course—I have not staked a sou—then lounge on a Casino sofa and read the papers—go to our Hotel at meal times—*Voilà tout!* We have quarters where there is good food—close to the gardens. The weather is simply superb, warm and genial, and even in the evenings there is no chill."

*Florence, April 10, 1892.*

"We are enjoying thoroughly this marvellous city, gloriously radiant in the brightest sunshine.

"Happily, after one or two fluctuations, I have so steadily increased in strength that there is nothing to overshadow our days—save the strong and mighty towers and domes which stand out against the blue sky and fling around themselves a darkness which only furnishes welcome standing-ground from which to gaze upon their sunlit glories. We are of course not fagging ourselves by attempting to 'do' the sights and rushing about—but are quietly sitting down before this immortal work of art and that—and giving free play to wonder and admiration. In plain English, I am really, after all, getting well; and in spirits sufficiently buoyant to take my Ruskin and place myself before a half-effaced

fresco and believe myself at the gates of Paradise. Florence certainly distances all that we had imagined—the ‘bounteous prodigality of nature’ seems more than equalled by the lavishness with which men of genius have scattered their treasures in every highway and byway, so that go where we will there is some building or painting or statue to give delight—as you know better than I can tell. We are in a very comfortable *pension* at the end of the Via Turnabuoni, and our bedroom overlooks the Arno—with a charming view of the Ponte Vecchio on the East—and in the West every evening either a golden or amber radiance brings the day to an end.

“Monte Carlo at any rate had the grace to do me a world of good, so that in spite of, no doubt, its well deserved lack of reputation I cannot but have a good word for it. Its terraces by the sea and its gardens were exactly the places for sunning oneself idly—the music just gave enough of life—and reading newspapers, etc., in easy chairs, enough of—work!—while human nature in the gambling rooms was quite sufficient for—study! Finding myself so much better, we ventured on to Genoa;—and spent two nights there. Then spent a day at Pisa—and *such* a day!—a marvellously bright sky was the back ground for the Cathedral—and the Apennines gleamed as though clad with snow, with their white marble.

“About ten days ago we came on to Florence—and



"Outside of the city we have been to Fiesole and S. Marco. \* \* \* \*

*Birmingham, Oct. 18, 1892.*

"A finely cultured old lady, with ripe experience and keen interest in all that is worth living for, seems to have a true and ennobling place in this world and when her chair is empty there is a blank, which apart from old age cannot be filled.

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search of health.

"As you know after being driven from our Welsh Hotel by fever, we took refuge in 'Smedley's Hydro,' Matlock. I never thought that the day would come for my confinement in a Hydro! I have vowed by all my gods that you might as well try to tempt a chamois down from the snow-clad crags by holding a piece of bread and butter at a parlour window, as by any pretence to induce me to enter into base subjection to the rules of a Hydro and to have innocent 'recreations' provided for me like plates of revelenta and such like exciting articles of diet. But it came to pass. And Smedley's is a *real* Hydro—not a Hydro-flirting-Hotel;—and is strictly administered. Hardly any one goes who is not either an invalid or companioning an invalid. Baths and packs of all kinds are included in the charge whether you take them or not; so that a 'well' inmate has to pay as much as an unwell one (barring a preliminary guinea for the first consultation), although the unwell-er should have endless Russian and Turkish baths and packs of all varieties and medical attendance constantly.

"Behold Smedley's! [An engraving of the establishment appears at the top of the sheet.] The size not exaggerated but there are houses all round about. It is on the side of a cup-shaped valley—high up. The climate however did not suit me—it is too moist and relaxing for such a thorough

Highlander as I am—although Mrs. Crosskey found it pleasantly genial and did not complain of it. I chafed and growled and cried out for cataracts of wind and water to descend and dig deep gullies in the hill-side and replace the green slopes with beetling crags and make a chaos out of the quiet pastoral simplicities of the scene.

“At any rate, whether my abuse of the smooth-tongued and smooth-faced and namby-pamby climate was deserved or not—my appetite refused persistently to be quickened by it—and I kept eating less and less daily.

“As for the treatment, the chief Dr. (Dr. Hunter) is extremely able—not at all one-idea-ed—not one of those who think that if you pack the stump of an amputated leg long enough it will grow a leg again. We obtained from him some invaluable advice which is bearing excellent fruit and largely conducing to the steady progress I am now making.

“With a manly obstinacy, however, worthy of a good sound prejudice of the most conservative type, all my bodily organs agreed that they would not receive any benefit from a Hydro—at any rate so long as they were within its precincts. I was given ‘comforting’ packs and ‘stimulating’ packs—fed every five hours—fed every two hours—a watchman brought me hot milk in the middle of the night whenever I chose to touch the electric bell—a bathman came up every morning at seven with bucket

of cold water and sponge to start me for the day with a show of vigour—I was ‘tempted’ (!) by boiled rice and pepsinated messes and I was tempted by mutton chops and wings of endless chicken—the net result being that I lost weight daily (—in one 48 hours indeed 3 lbs. went—) and after 19 days 9 lbs. were gone!!

“Dr. Hunter said the only thing for me was to go through the ‘Weir-Mitchell’ treatment, i.e., *go to bed for six weeks* in (almost) solitary confinement, be massaged steadily, only read a newspaper and limit writing to a post-card a day, with a special attendant to feed and watch over me! (Cost, nine guineas a week).

“We resolved, however, to try home again before thinking of such tragic arrangements as these. As soon as we got back to Gough Road, lo! I steadily improved and have continued to improve ever since. I am ‘lying low,’ loafing on the sofa and doing nothing more exciting than arranging papers by way of ‘study,’ save reading a novel (tell me anything good), going down the garden, seeing hardly any one—BUT I am so much better that I quite expect to go down to the Church and officiate at the marriage of Edith ——— to-morrow!!

“There were 200 people at that Hydro when we were there—all sorts and conditions—and from many parts of the world. We never have seen so many stout middle-aged ladies (about the shape of

bags of potatoes) together in one place, going in for loss of weight! Yet they took *all* the meals, viz.,

Breakfast	8·30
Lunch	11
Dinner	1·30
Afternoon Tea	4
High Tea	6·30
Supper	9·15

and relied upon Turkish and Russian baths to be able to do it all safely! \* \* \* We hope you will come and see us soon."

*Birmingham, Nov. 4, 1892.*

"Many thanks for telegram. Circumstances are making it uncertain as to Llanbedr—and it is still a query whether we shall go—but we are very glad that if we do, you will rusticate with us. The one fixed point is that we are to have you on Thursday.

"I am agitating my library for Miss Jewsbury's Letters so as to have them ready for you.

"I am to conduct the Devotional Service and also christen L's baby on Sunday—and marry Miss C. Kenrick (Mr. W. Kenrick, M.P.'s daughter) to Mr. Debenham (of the great London firm) on Tuesday—and thus you see have made a 'start' that seems promising enough for at least some activity of life beyond my recent intellectual (!) occupations of tidying papers, stretching at full length on the sofa, and striving to master the recondite produc-

tions of newspaper editors, with an excursus into the gossip of Pepys' diary which I have never before happened to have tackled in a complete edition.

"This afternoon, also, we are driving to Bournbrook for lunch.

"Last week I confess to a rather adventurous expedition in the shape of a dinner at Chamberlain's—where luxuries were not exactly the product of INVALID COOKING! But it was to *meet a bishop*, and therefore of course a temptation to such a hybrid ecclesiastic as I am. But the occasion was a remarkable instance of the thorough way Chamberlain does things.

"You know the Bishop of Chester has been propounding a scheme about the Drink traffic in which Chamberlain is greatly interested, and he therefore invites him to dinner—and asks to meet him one of the chief Brewers of Birmingham, one of the strongest Teetotallers, another Bishop (Coventry) and some leading clergy, Dale and myself as Non-conformists, and some few others, Tories and Gladstonians.

"After dinner, he (as it were) took the chair—and opened a discussion on the subject in which teetotallers, publicans and sinners, and dignitaries of the church—and dissenters took part in a perfectly frank and good-tempered way—while Chamberlain kept on the watch for something that might be practicable in the strife of parties."

cc

*Birmingham, March 28, 1893.*

"You will like to put the enclosed among your papers—richer and fuller as it was in promise than the buds of this early spring.

"I could not help thinking how our dear Leo would have enjoyed his Mamma's 'Mrs. Malaprop' the other evening. In one's heart he is always present at every happy hour.

"It was quite a triumph of artistic skill—and fairly carried away the house—I have *in truth* never seen the part so well played—and that was the general verdict.

"All were good—and Mr. Walker was splendid.

"Unfortunately Mrs. Crosskey has caught a chill—which means sore throat and severe cold—and is confined to her room—but is rather better to-day. .

"I reached home quite comfortably the other day, and am still gaining my ounces. Percy is better but not cheerful about himself—although he really is, we think, 'getting out of the wood.'"

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE EBBING TIDE.

WE now draw near to the closing scenes of Dr. Crosskey's life. His was a struggle long and brave to continue at his post and do the work which God had set him. The later letters in the preceding chapter reveal something of the struggle, the determined hopefulness in enforced holiday, the longing to be back at work when exiled to scenes of idleness, yet withal the delight in the beauty of God's fair earth when his banishment held him prisoner in some lovely neighbourhood.

In 1890 he had travelled to Norway with a party of scientific friends intent on reading the records of the fjelds. But high up among the snows of the Dovrefjeld he had been seized with illness and lain near to the gates of death, from which he was only rescued by the skilled and devoted care of Dr. Wilson of Crewe, who stayed behind with him. When Dr. Wilson, three years later, heard that he had actually passed within those gates, he wrote to Mrs. Crosskey of the Christian heroism which he had been privileged to watch in that lonely Norwegian saeter.



"To have known him as I was privileged to do, to have seen him in his pain, weakness, loneliness, to have noted his indomitable spirit, his grateful appreciation of kindness, his sensitive shrinking from giving trouble; his quaint humour, at play even in his saddest moments; his smile flickering up through spasms of pain; and then when his strength came again to him, to note his juvenility, his boyish pluck, and in his quieter moods, to hear him in the early morning hours, discourse of men and manners and things, as he alone could; all this I regard as a sacred memory, and I feel that to have known him was an important part of my education.

"It is hard for me to express the strong tie, and the firm bond of relationship, which our fortnight in the Dovrefjeld formed!"

Through the winter of 1891-2, Dr. Crosskey was almost continuously ill. But whenever strong enough to leave his room he continued to conduct the services of the Church, until in the middle of February, by his doctor's orders, he started with Mrs. Crosskey for the Riviera. The earlier part of the journey was made in intense cold. At the Cap d'Antibes, however, the sun shone out and the promise of spring was in the genial air. The sky was blue and the flowers were in bloom. Cheered and strengthened by a few weeks' sojourn here, Dr. Crosskey travelled east to Nice, Monte Carlo, Genoa,

Pisa, and on to Florence. In Florence, so far as strength permitted, he found the keenest delight, revelling in the glories of art and the memorials of history. Then Venice, which was at its very best. The frivolities of the Carnival and the solemnities of St. Mark in turn interested the catholic mind of the minister of the Church of the Messiah. But the weeks fled fast, and it was time to turn home once more. The Crosskeys travelled by Milan, the St. Gothard tunnel, Lucerne, and Berne, reaching Birmingham in the last days of April.

The summer of 1892 was spent for the most part at home. At Whitsuntide Dr. Crosskey presided at the meetings of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association in London, delivering a Presidential Address which showed no sign of failing power. But the ensuing months were marked by great weakness and frequent prostration. He worked on still and spent many of the summer hours in his garden, not merely as a loungeur but as a practical gardener. Early in September he went to Dinas Mawddwy, in Merionethshire, and thence he went to Smedley's Hydropathic, at Matlock, of his experiences in which establishment he gives to Mrs. Leo Crosskey an account at once so lively and so lugubrious. The treatment did him little good, and the later autumn and the early winter, spent at home, were one long tale of alternate hopeful rallyings and disheartening relapses.

On the 15th of February, 1893, he attended, as usual, the annual meeting of his congregation, and throughout those trying months he never gave way to hopelessness or depression.

On February 28, he was well enough to go to Scotland with Mrs. Crosskey to attend the wedding of the daughter of Lord McLaren, in which they both were deeply interested. They stayed a few days with Professor and Mrs. Jack, at Glasgow, and were back in Birmingham on the 10th of March.

About this time the idea of the beautiful little book which was to be his swan-song, began to take shape. A lady to whom he had been indeed "a teacher sent of God" was eager that some of his religious utterances should be gathered together for the comfort, help and strengthening of many.

Early in 1893 he writes to her :

"I have decided that it will be wise to put off for a short time, until I am stronger, the preparation of a volume of new sermons for publication, which will be rather a heavy task, and to prepare for you in the meantime, the volume of selections from those already published, which will not be at all too much for me to do at odd hours, if I take my time about it.

"What will meet my own idea, and also I think yours, most effectually, will be to make them of different lengths ; some, e.g. might take a page, others would be only a few lines, with all inter-

mediate sizes, according as may be best to bring out the sentence or paragraph in as complete a form as possible, and fit for the ordeal of publication. You have no idea how much *writing* even a small page like that of the little book I showed you will hold in print; and to *read* words is very different from *hearing* them; the reader requires them to be in a certain literary form."

In April he writes to her again :

"Thanks for enclosure. I have now sent enough MS. to make a book of the size likely to be useful; such a book of course must be compact.

"You may like to know one or two particulars, since it owes its origin entirely to your suggestion. I hope you will not be disappointed. The title will be, '*A Hand-Book of Rational Piety.*' It is divided into SECTIONS. At the commencement of each section is a brief synopsis of the religious principles illustrated in that section; this will be printed on a page by itself. A series of *short* sentences is then given, each sentence being followed by a quotation from some published or MS. sermon, expanding and explaining the thought contained in the prefixed sentence. Each section consists of a group of these sentences and quotations related to each other, and dealing with the principles stated in the prefixed synopsis.

"Although only a proportion of the sentences you collected are given as *sentences*, you will, I think,

find most of them included in the longer quotations, somewhere or other.

"I have written a short preface stating that it has been prepared at the instigation of a valued friend, who has found the passages helpful, so that you may take to yourself the credit of any good the little book may do, and any adverse criticisms I shall leave you to meet, and not be troubled about them."

Some months passed by before the little book issued from the publisher's hands, but when it did, it at once took its place as a religious classic in the group of Churches with which Dr. Crosskey was connected. His last days were largely occupied in distributing it to special friends; and we may take as typical of the impression it produced on very many the words in which one of his oldest and dearest friends expressed his thanks:

"I love your book," he wrote. "It satisfies many aspirations. It disposes of many perplexities. It accords with reverent thought. It confirms and carries on my best experiences. And to me, with all this, it presents your own deeper and higher life, and the delightful image of a friend.

"In more ordinary language, it is 'just the thing.' The oppositions of religion and science are reconciled, by showing how you have yourself reconciled them. I know able and scientific men who dismiss and brush aside all spiritual ideas; to whom the common

forms and practices of the religious world present themselves as indifferent, or repulsive. What thousands want is a guide to the truths of religion which are acceptable, even natural,—to an unprejudiced mind. They will find it in your Hand-book."

At Whitsuntide once more Dr. Crosskey appeared on the platform of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. The controversy on the religious attitude of the London School Board had burst into sudden fury. The London Unitarians, naturally enough, wished to use the opportunity to strengthen their own hands in the battle for which they were girding their loins, and they brought forward resolutions shaped with a view to their own particular campaign. Dr. Crosskey fully sympathised in their general view, but he felt that the resolutions proposed, however expedient in reference to the Metropolitan conflict, did not adequately express the principles in regard to national education to which he had devoted himself for so many years, and were not such as a National Association could fittingly promulgate. In these circumstances a vehement debate ensued, and the veteran stood apparently in all the vigour of his prime, a type of the intellectual gladiator, seizing every coign of vantage, exposing every fallacy, fastening opponents down to the point at issue, amid the cheers and counter-cheers of the excited assembly.

A few days afterwards he writes his daughter-in-

law a letter in which he makes playful allusion to this event :

*" Birmingham, June 2, 1893.*

" Mrs. Crosskey and I are proposing to come to London for a kind of a quiet spree of our own—will you kindly assist a respectable (?) parson and his wife on the rampage by taking seats for us as follows—

" Monday eve. June 19th—at the Garrick for Diplomacy.

" Wednesday MATINEE at the Lyceum (June 21) for Becket ?

" I do not know the price—please say, if you can get the tickets—dress-circle in or as near front row as possible ; anywhere in front row, we should like better than even more central places behind.

" We propose to come to London on the Monday (19th)—on Tuesday evening I have a dinner at Greenwich (Hibbert Trust feed)—on Wednesday evening we go to Oxford where I am due in connection with the College Examinations. Of course, we shall go to the Academy—possibly you may be able to meet us there or somewhere. We shall be at some hotel near the Strand.

" I hope this commission will not give you too much trouble.

" I was in London as you might hear at the B. and F. U. A.—but returned at once, after vexing the souls of all the swell Londoners by what I

deemed words of truth and soberness, but what they deemed impracticable botherations."

Three weeks later he writes again:—

*"Birmingham, June 27, 1893.*

"Enclosed is the cash. Many thanks to Mr. Gill for all the trouble he so kindly took, with results so satisfactory to us.

"Mrs. Crosskey was very sorry that she was too tired to take the journey to Lawn Road—as you know, sight-seeing is hard work! We were delighted with Diplomacy—it is one of the most perfect pieces of 'all round' acting I have ever seen. Every part was splendidly done. It has all the delicacy of French with all the strong energy of English acting. Irving has less mannerism in Becket than in any other part—but his company seemed to me too 'loud.' The Queen especially so raved that there was some excuse for Henry in frequenting Rosamund's bower!—although Miss Terry is too old for Rosamund.

"We had a good time at Oxford. We made a pilgrimage to the monument to Shelley, erected in the College from which he was expelled! How the whirligig of time brings round its revenges!

"On Monday we are following Tom and Lily to Borth!—I rather grudge a holiday out of Scotland—but they say the sea-air is fresh there and will do me good; and there is a river near to fish—and Tom and Lily will be companions.



"Fishing by day and whist by night, will form, if not a very ministerial, at any rate a human holiday."

"Our address after Monday will be St. Clare House, Borth, Cardiganshire (I like the 'St.' in the address, it gives a sober aspect which will cover a multitude of frivolities.)"

On the 3rd of July, Dr. Crosskey and his wife went to Borth, a quiet little village on the coast of Wales. The weeks spent here were restful. The Doctor was well enough for many pleasant walks and much fishing, and it was altogether a happy time, without presage of the coming end.

They went back home on the 16th of August. A few days later he writes to a faithful friend:—

"We are at home, and yet, 'not at home,' being extremely busy in preparation for removal from our present house, the lease of which is just coming to an end. I however have arranged to begin to preach on the first Sunday in September, both morning and evening, until Mr. Crossley's return. I feel so very much stronger that I do not fear *both* Services for a Sunday or two.

"Now, I am feeling so much better, I have some schemes in my head, as to opportunities of having some religious conversational meetings, as frank and free as possible, with young people, such as your girls, during the coming season."

The fateful weeks crept on, plans of work and preparations for a change of residence filling the

time and thoughts of Dr. Crosskey. September came and he was able to take his Sunday duty with regularity, while his people gradually gathered together after the summer's outings.

I am permitted to print a letter which he wrote in this September to a young lady who was grieved at her want of control over her temper, and through the same friend to whom the above letter was addressed, sought his pastoral advice. How full and sweet was his own Christian temper, how wise, how tender, how helpful, this pastoral letter shows, I think, in a rare degree. He writes:

"Miss —— enclosed me your note, and I am always very glad to know what kind of hints are likely to serve any of my hearers, in the great work we all have, of cherishing our best feelings, and guiding our lives by them. In some early sermon, I shall include some such as those you wish, about controlling impatience and irritable feelings; but since sometimes it happens that those who wish a certain line of thought to be taken, are not present when it is through some accidental hindrance, you may like a word or two in reply. The great thing I think, is to *make a practice* of considering the effects of our words and actions upon others. Impatience arises because we do not consider *how and why* it is other people think as we do not think, and feel as we do not feel. If we throw ourselves out of ourselves, we shall understand this 'how and why.'

Now the effort to put ourselves in the place of other people, and understand *them*, is at first a hard one : we are all so self-contained, but if deliberately and persistently made, it will become a habit of our heart, and patient, instead of impatient feelings, will rise of their own accord, and we shall be delivered from our trouble. Many thoroughly kind people may act with impatient irritability, just because they leave their feelings to chance, and do not realize that there is an education of the heart needed for the attainment of the fairest graces of character.

“ We have also constantly to bear in heart, that others have as much right to their thoughts and feelings, as we have to ours. Here again an effort is at first required. Just as, when we are learning a language, we have to force ourselves to remember rules, but after a time we follow them without thinking about them, so is it with the education of the heart ; at first we have to force ourselves to think about the regard to be paid to the right of others to their own emotions and wishes, as being equal to that we claim for our own,—but soon come to respect it, the acknowledgment of it becoming another of what I have called the *habits* of the heart, through daily practice.

“ *Then* we cease to be irritated by antagonisms ; we hold our own ground, and see that others are just as justified in holding their own ground also.

"The practice of thoughtfulness in the directions I have indicated, will make thoughtfulness habitual by degrees,—slowly but surely.

"We are all very much inclined to speak of our feelings, as though we could not help them; we say, 'We cannot help what we feel.' This is both true, and not true.

"Being what we are at this moment, we certainly find our feelings come, apart from our better wishes; but the education of our hearts may be carried to a higher point, and *then* our feelings will alter, and be more gracious,—just as with our minds. We may say, 'We cannot help what we think;' this is true and not true. True, for us, just at the present stage of our mental education, but we may gain more knowledge, and then our thoughts will widen.

"If you have the patience to read this long scrawl, I hope you will find it suggestive, *but do not trouble yourself to reply*, and believe me,

"Ever affectionately,

"HENRY W. CROSSKEY."

In this same month, September, 1893, the Crosskeys removed from the house in Gough Road to a beautiful house, standing in a spacious garden, in Wheeley's Road. The new house was called "Thirlmere." The "study"—always the crucial matter in the mind of a minister—was an ideal one. It was on the first floor and looked out on two sides on

the lawn, the fish-pond and the flower beds. There was wall space for a great array of books and ample room for cabinets and cupboards,—a study wherein a studious man might revel.

On September the 21st, Dr. Crosskey wrote to his daughter-in-law as follows:—

“Where is Mrs. Carvill Lewis now? I want to send her some of my little books, of which I post you a copy. You may have heard we are leaving Gough Road—and are in the ‘agonies’—next week we shall turn out altogether. We are going after more *Sun*—since my illness, the shade in which our house is for two-thirds of the day, will be better replaced by sunlight.

“My study never gets a ray until late in the afternoon—and then only a few odd wanderers—and in other rooms it is much the same through the standing out of the next house before us. Mrs. Crosskey feels the garden also too steep and the conservatory is so far away that in winter she can not get at it.

“We are going also much nearer the Five Ways—about half our present distance—and avoid two hills—so that we shall be much more accessible for the girls. Altogether therefore we decided on a flitting. We shall have a very good garden—far more on the flat—but at a higher elevation than here—and bathed in sunlight the greater part of the day—and the conservatory next the drawing

room. The whole place is rather large for us—but we looked at many houses and could not find one we liked into which we could get—with all ‘the books, cabinets—and rubbish’ (as it is called profanely) which I have.

“But a flitting is a—flitting; and when peace of mind will be had, is a question not yet within the range of ‘practical politics.’

“Here come Dorothy, Cyril and others to lunch.

“Ever affectionately,

“H. W. CROSSKEY.”

To the new home thus described Dr. Crosskey removed in the last week of September, full of hope and purpose, and little anticipating the greater “removal” which he was to make on the next Sunday morning.

On the Sunday before his death (Sept. 23) he was accosted after morning service by two young men brought up in connection with the Church of the Messiah, who desired that he would explain to them some of their religious difficulties. No request could give greater joy to such a minister as Dr. Crosskey, and he cordially invited them to call that very afternoon. They went and had a long and delightful talk, the minister well understanding and deeply sympathising with their difficulties, and elucidating point after point in a way that won their enthusiastic gratitude. Then he asked them down-

DD

stairs to tea, still talked on in his luminous and helpful way, and only ceased when he had to hasten off to Church to conduct the evening service. One of his visitors afterwards wrote down, to the best of his ability, the substance of the conversation, concluding thus:

"Next Sunday we heard of his death. To me, this writing out of what he said has been a task of great and deep interest, for as I write, there comes to me clearly and distinctly the thin figure sitting behind his table, his head on his hand, his legs crossed before him, looking eagerly first at one, and then the other of his two listeners. But in reading through the foregoing pages, I see too well that except to myself, and to the friend who was with me, they will be of little interest; the eager voice that uttered the words is silent now for ever, the earnest spirit that prompted them has left us, and we have looked our last on that beautiful face, which told almost more than his words how earnest was his belief. But the memory of that Sunday remains, and it is my earnest prayer that it will be long before it leaves me; and I cannot help thinking that it was something more than chance that took us to him on the last Sunday he spent among us."

On Wednesday, the 27th, Dr. Crosskey spoke with great vigour and freshness at a meeting of the Governors of the King Edward Schools, although it was the very day of the actual removal to

“Thirlmere.” He took great interest in a scheme for the establishment of a new Girls’ School in connection with that foundation.

On the following Saturday—the last day of September—Dr. Crosskey sat in his new study making notes for his next day’s sermon. The Church Congress was to meet in Birmingham, and this would be “Congress Sunday.” The notes, so far as they were completed, have been placed in my hands. They are largely in the short-hand characters which prevailed, I believe, in Manchester New College, fifty years ago, and are to me illegible. I am indebted to the Rev. David Davis, of Evesham, for their almost complete interpretation, and I present his version in the short paragraphs and broken lines in which they stand in Dr. Crosskey’s manuscript, probably arranged for subsequent amplification.

Church Congress.

B’ham, Oct., 1893.

“Congress Sunday”

- 1). I note in the papers that an address of welcome from “Nonconformists” is to be presented.

Even in B’ham and            the country, there seems just now a “dead set” against Units.

BUT we have hearts large enough to join in the welcome to a great religious body of



earnest and devout men, like those attached to the Ch. of England who are striving accord. to the light of their consciences to do their duty to God and man.

We *can* recognize the noble part not only many of its Scholars and Saints, but its struggling Curates, have played in the development of the religious Life of England.

Not a few of its solemn prayers also we are accustomed to use in our worship. Seldom a Sunday passes that I do not read one of its collects.

This  
SPECIAL  
CONGRESS.

1. Attending this B'ham Congress are many noble men of the ripest learning and the noblest piety.

There are  
Great Prelates, like the B[ishop] of D[urham];

(?)

There are  
Great [Philanth]ropists of every type

There are  
Men of Science :

There are  
Brave toilers for every kind of social Reform

• •

We welcome them !

The Saints of OUR Church are the good men of every creed and every nation !

2. The subjects also that are to be discussed are by no means *all* of an ecclesiastical

character. Many of them have a large HUMAN interest, e.g.

(?)

§2. Most frankly however we are told by our local churchmen that they hope and believe that this Congress will have a large effect in winning B'ham away from Dissent, i.e., in Churchifying B'ham.

?

Record states that two of the most "*unsatisfactory* forms of Dissent" have hitherto prevailed in B'ham: viz. Congregation<sup>ism</sup> and Unit<sup>ism</sup>.

\* This word is exactly A.

The writer thinks however their ?

is decreasing! influence

A Cong!

B Units. "Post"

?

But this might be and we still in the right. We are thus very distinctly challenged to re-assert our principles.

A challenge of this kind it is our duty to accept.

Not unto us is to be the blame therefore if blame there be of connecting our welcome with a statement of what Nonconformity means.

Why are *we* Noncons.? Other bodies of Noncons. may answer for themselves. I speak for myself to-night.

## A

I am a Noncon. because I believe in absolute and complete religious equality before the Law.

What right has the State to pick and choose a creed? Support its churches? Place its Bishops in the House of Lords? Throw

(?)

all its influence on the side of the XXXIX. articles?

We Noncons.

pay our taxes; are citizens! as much as Churchmen.

The Unitarian position is amusingly hard!

It almost amounts to a practical joke of the first water,

to make

the "Church of the Nation" to which we belong the medium of asserting that

"without doubt we shall perish everlastingly."

So far the preacher had written when a sudden seizure of pain prevented his continuance. Medical aid was at hand at once. There were hopes towards evening that fatal results might still be beaten back. But early on Sunday morning, October 1st, the good soldier of Christ was summoned to his rest.

I will not describe the sorrow of the home, nor the grief and consternation at the Church of the

Messiah that Sunday morning, as the congregation assembled expecting to be led in worship by the pastor who seemed of late to have gathered together fresh stores of strength. Let us rather think of the man himself that Sunday morning in the light of words which he himself had spoken to his people some years ago :

“In passing from Earth to Heaven there is no ground for expecting a change in affections and interests. It will be the greatest, grandest, strangest moment of all moments when we awake from death unto life. The first consciousness that earth has passed *and we live* will be the *one* experience amid all the possibilities of eternity. But there is no reason to imagine that the heart will cease to love what it does love ; or the mind forget to cherish its joy in what is here delightful ; or our Heaven be other than a dearer earth.”

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The funeral services for Dr. Crosskey were a great event. A great concourse of people gathered around his grave. All that was best in the religious, the educational, the political life of Birmingham was there represented. There were delegates from numerous public bodies and associations. All these paid the tribute of a profound respect to the departed leader, the brave fighter, the ardent reformer. But there was deeper sorrow still in the heart of many a humble mourner. The young men and women to whom he had opened out a nobler view

of life, the stricken whom he had comforted, the tempted whom he had strengthened, the unknown many to whom he had been in secret crises of life a father or a brother, these, after those of his own household, were his chief mourners; in their lives there was a blank which all the years could not fill up.

The same Monday morning newspapers which announced far and wide the death of Dr. Crosskey, published also long obituaries of Dr. Jowett, Master of Balliol College. The conjunction was impressive. Both were men of brilliant endowment and lofty character. Both were Liberals in religion, fearless of the spread of knowledge, eager for the culture of thought, brave in facing the new issues of our time. The Unitarian minister had some at least of the gifts which make for success and renown in higher degree than the Oxonian Churchman. I institute no comparison between their merits. But the one died possessed of a world-wide fame, the other—though distinguished far beyond the average minister of his communion—unknown by name to the immense majority of his countrymen.

It was because the one had never seen ethical cause to withdraw from the priesthood of the Established Church, had never shrunk from subscribing her articles, never hesitated to repeat her creeds; while the other for conscience sake, and truth's and freedom's, stood self-exiled from the circle of advancement and renown, would put his hand to no declaration to which his reason did not

assent, would least of all in the solemn service of religion pronounce words which were not true to the convictions of his heart. It would become us ill here to pass any judgment between these two types of conscience and of conduct. But at least let it not be thought that the Unitarian minister stood self-banished from the Church adorned by Benjamin Jowett through any love of singularity or insensibility to the price he paid. He knew the cost of the consistency to which his conscience bound him,—the cost of such free thought as cannot yoke itself with creedal conformity and ecclesiastical obedience. Let us turn to the words he spoke, in 1890, in Jowett's own glorious Oxford, to the students of Manchester New College:

"Gentlemen," he said, "as I look upon you in the light of my knowledge of the kind of careers that, in all probability, await you, my heart is touched as by some pathetic tale of human toil, endurance, and patience.

"Many of the men in the Colleges around you will have the world at their feet. The highest dignities in Church and State will be conferred upon them.

"As for you—you may become as learned as the most learned, and as devout as the most devout, and your place will be where only two or three are gathered together. You are not justified in expecting any abundance of earthly rewards or the gratification of any worldly ambition whatever—if you can get an honest living it will be well.

"A woman of genius, who knew what it was to have grave and bitter sorrows brought upon those she loved by defiances of the world's opinions, had a certain school recommended to her for her son, on the ground that there he would learn to cherish independence of thought. 'Oh, my God!' (was her reply) 'let him be taught to think as other people do.'

"As the years pass, you will know, in all human probability better than you do now, how and why such a cry could spring from a stricken heart.

"Yet be of good courage. The proudest earthly success can give no blessedness equal to that possessed by the man who will receive nothing at the world's hands that he cannot take with the approval of his conscience—and who knows clearly what is the right thing for him to do—does it, and thanks God when it is done."

If then Crosskey stood aloof from the Church which claims to be national, if he served a small and despised religious community, if he never swerved from his glowing youth to his honoured age from the utterance of all the truth he knew, if he paid the full price of an extreme Dissent, it was not that he did not know and weigh the price he paid. Let us who for a little while remain in the conflict in which he strove with a courage so unquenchable and a devotion so magnanimous, take heart from his great example and pray to be worthy to stand by his side again in the unseen world.

## APPENDIX.

### LIST OF SCIENTIFIC PAPERS & MEMOIRS, MAINLY GEOLOGICAL.

*(Compiled by Dr. Lapworth.)*

- 1863. On the Recent Discovery of the Remains of a Cetacean on the Banks of the River Irvine. Phil. Soc., Glasgow, 22, Apl., 1863, pp. 243-246.
- 1864. BRYCE AND CROSSKEY. On Certain Described Cases of the Occurrence of Fossils in the Boulder Clay of the West of Scotland. Phil. Soc., Glasgow.
- 1864. On a Section of Glacial Clay at Errol, Perthshire. Glasgow Phil. Soc. Proc. v. 1864, pp. 329-331.
- 1865. On the Tellina Calcaria Bed at Chapel Hall, near Airdrie. Quart. Journal, Jan. 25, 1865, pp. 219-221. Phil. Mag., xxix., pp. 399-400.
- 1865. CROSSKEY AND ROBERTSON. New Additions to the Fauna of the Glacial Epoch. Phil. Soc., Glasgow. Proc., 1865, p. 27.
- 1867. On a Section near Inch-na-Damff, Sutherlandshire. Glasgow Geol. Soc., Trans. xi., 1867, p. 19.



1867. Address in Memory of James Smith, of Jordan Hill. Geol. Soc., Glasgow. Trans. II., 1864-67, p. 228.
1867. Glacial Deposits of the Clyde District. Glasgow Geological Society. Transactions II., pp. 45-51.
1867. Notes on the Fossils collected by Mr. James Bennie at Windmill Croft. Glasgow Geol. Soc. Trans. II., pp. 115-117.
1867. Note on the Discovery of *Leda Arctica* at Stevenson, Ayrshire. Geol. Soc., Glasgow. Trans., 1867-8, p. 200.
1868. CROSSKEY AND BRYCE. Account of the Post Tertiary Beds of Arran, in the second edition of "The Geology of Arran."
1868. On the Relation between the Glacial Deposits of Scotland and those of Canada. Glasgow Geol. Soc. Trans. II., pp. 132-138. Canadian Naturalist, 1868, pp. 207-211.
1868. Recent Researches into the Post-Tertiary Geology of Scotland. Glasgow Phil. Soc. Proc. VIII., 1871, pp. 92-102. (Read December, 1868).
1868. Recent Speculations as to the Age of the World. Edinburgh Review, 1868, p. 567.
1868. On Boulder Clay. (Read 1868). Glasgow Geol. Soc. Trans. III., 1871, pp. 144-153.
1868. Post-Tertiary Geology of Norway. Glasgow Phil. Soc. (Read 20 April, 1868).
1868. Post-Tertiary Beds of Norway and Scotland. Q.J.G.S., 1868, pp. 461-468.

1868. Notes on the Geology of Norway. *Geol. Mag.*, v., 1868, pp. 461-468.
1868. On the Relation of the British Glacial Fauna to the Glacial Fauna of the North of Europe. *Quarterly Review of Science*, 1868. *Phil. Soc., Glasgow*, 1869, p. 102.
1869. On the Glacial Epoch in Great Britain. *B'ham Nat. His. & Microscop. Soc. Proc.*, Part I., 1869, pp. 70-80.
1870. CROSSKEY AND C. J. WOODWARD. Post-Tertiary Beds of the Midland District. *B'ham Nat. His. & Microscop. Soc. Proc.*, Part II., 1870, pp. 42-55.
1871. CROSSKEY AND BRADY. Notes on the Fossil Ostracoda from the Post-Tertiary Deposits of Canada and New England. *Geol. Mag.*, VIII., 1871, pp. 60-65.
1871. The Early History of Mankind. *Theological Review*, 1871, p. 111.
- 1873 BRITISH ASSOCIATION—REPORTS OF COMMITTEE appointed for ascertaining dimensions, position, etc., etc., of ERRATIC BLOCKS AND BOULDERS in different parts of the United Kingdom. Reports Nos. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20.
1873. Presidential Address to the B'ham Nat. His. and Mic. Soc. Delivered at the Annual Meeting, 1873.
1874. The Great Ice Age. *Theological Review*, 1874, p. 348.

1874. G.S. BRADY, C.M.Z.S., H. W. CROSSKEY, F.G.S.,  
DAVID ROBERTSON, F.G.S., "Monograph  
of the Post-Tertiary Entomostraca of  
Scotland, including species from England  
and Ireland." Printed for the Paleonto-  
graphical Society, London, 1874.

1868 CROSSKEY AND DAVID ROBERTSON. THE  
to POST-TERTIARY FOSSILIFEROUS BEDS OF  
1874 SCOTLAND. Introduction; and Part I.—  
Dalmini.

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| I. Dalmeny, 1867.                             | } Trans. Geol.<br>Soc. Glasgow<br>II., pp. 267-<br>282. |
| II. Cumbræ College.                           |   |
| III. Loch.                                    | } Ibid, Vol. III.,<br>pp. 113-139.                      |
| IV. Caithness.                                |   |
| V. Lochnow Pit, Ayrshire.                     |   |
| VI. E. Tarbet, Loch Fyne.                     |   |
| VII. W. Tarbet.                               | } Ibid, Vol. III.,<br>pp. 321-341.                      |
| VIII. Crinan.                                 |   |
| IX. Duntroon.                                 |   |
| X. Old Mains, Renfrew.                        |   |
| XI. Paisley.                                  | } Ibid, Vol. IV.,<br>p. 32.                             |
| XII. Gravel Park, Greenock.                   |   |
| XIII. Kilchattan Tile Works,<br>Isle of Bute. | } Ibid, Vol. IV.<br>pp. 128-137.                        |
| XIV. Tangy Glen, near Cam-<br>bletown.        |   |

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| xv. - Jordan Hill Brick W'ks. | } | Ibid, Vol. iv.<br>pp. 241-256. |
| xvi. Stobcross.               |   |                                |
| xvii. Fairfield, near Govan.  |   |                                |
| xviii. Paisley Canal.         |   |                                |
| xix. Dipple Tile Works.       |   |                                |
| xx. Kyles of Bute.            |   | Ibid, Vol. v.,<br>p. 29.       |
1879. Report, British Association (Erratic Blocks Committee). On the Glacial Phenomena of the Midland District. Frankley Hill.
1879. Glacial Phenomena of the Vosges Mountains, with an account of the Glacier Kertoff. Glasgow Phil. Soc. (Read Jan. 9, 1879).
1880. Uniformity in Geology. *The Modern Review*, 1880, Vol. I., p. 336.
1881. Note on some Additions to the Fauna of the Post-Tertiary Bed at Bridlington. *Phil. Soc., B'ham*, June 9, 1881.
1882. Section of Glacial Drift recently exposed near Icknield Street, Birmingham. *B'ham Phil. Soc. Proc.*, pp. 209-216, March 9, 1882.
1882. The Grooved Rocks and Boulders of Rowley Hill. *Phil. Soc., B'ham, Proc.* pp. 459-472, Nov. 9, 1882.
1882. Darwinism and Religion. *Modern Review*, Vol. III., 1882, p. 397.
1883. Recent Defences of the Mosaic Cosmogony. *Modern Review*, Vol. IV., 1883, p. 675.
1883. Reports of the Committee of the British Association on the Circulation of Under-ground Waters in England and Wales. Reports 9 and 10, 1883.

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